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THE CLIFF PALACE

In Mesa Verde, Southwestern Colorado.

From photograph by Baron Nordenskjold

Official Edition

THE NEW COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By John Clark Ridpath, LL. D.

Author of Ridpath's History of the World

Volume I

INCLUDING the traditions and speculations of the pre-Columbian voyagers; the discovery and settlement of the New Continent; its development under colonial government and the establishment and progress of the Republic.

APPOSITELY illustrated with original drawings, maps, portraits, and notable documents, selected for their contemporaneity from the Royal Archives at Genoa, Madrid, Paris, and London, by special permission of their governments, from the Department of State and the Library of Congress at Washington, and from private collections of rare Americana.

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Dedication

I leave these Volumes
(with my love)
To My Children

John Clark Ridpath

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INTRODUCTION.

History of the United States

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF EUROPE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Discovery of America; reaction on mankind

The discovery of America, in the last decade of the fifteenth century, was the most important secular event in the history of the world. The revelation of our continents, hitherto unknown to the races of Europe and the East, was destined to affect not only the material enterprises, but also the intellectual conditions, and ultimately the moral estate, of all mankind. More distinctly and powerfully than any other enterprise of men or nations did the first knowledge and fame of the Western hemisphere react on the genius and ambitions of man, bearing him on to higher vision and nobler modes of action. Nor has any subsequent achievement of human beings, however great and startling, equaled that marvelous and sublime leap of adventure whereby the vanguard of the Aryan race was first landed on the western shores of the ocean of Atlas.

To apprehend in full measure the nature of this mighty stride and this vantage of hope to mankind, it is necessary for us to understand not only the facts and circumstances attending the

discovery itself, but also the *antecedent conditions* from which the discovery came. Our new historical concept of events leads us to view the thing accomplished as a result of antecedent forces acting as a cause. The scientific notion of human affairs no longer holds the facts and incidents of history as disconnected phenomena, but rather embraces all events in a universal scheme, whereof the discovery of one part leads ultimately to a knowledge of the whole.

History a connected sequence

It can therefore hardly fail of interest to the American reader—whether he be wise or simple in the traditional lore and historical development of his country—to learn something of the General Conditions Prevailing in Europe in the Pre-Columbian Epoch. The state of civilization in our mother continent may not be disregarded by any who would inform himself of the true nature of the work accomplished by the Man of Genoa and his contemporaneous navigators. The men of that era, like the men of every other age, were born out of the compulsion of their past. They were a product of the times in which they lived. Not only themselves, but their work also, had been prepared in an alembic, ancient and vast, to be cast forth in the fullness of time. We must look upon the actors in the drama of discovery as projected on their mission by unseen forces they were unable to comprehend. The world had been prepared through long centuries of turmoil and distraction; and now at last mankind stood ready for the great adventure. Not only were the figure

Everything under law of causation

and dimensions of the new world to be revealed, but the nature and magnitude of our globe itself.

Let us, at the outset, look briefly and attentively at the general state of Europe in the Age of Discovery. Let us note those facts and forces in European civilization out of which, in true sequence of cause and effect, the veil of mist was to be lifted from the Indies of the West, and the eastern shores of our continent made known to the civilized races of the world.

We shall in this introductory part examine first of all the political state of Europe in the after half of the fifteenth century. In that age there was a marvelous accumulation of human energies, which were destined to extend themselves in finding a vent for mankind beyond the Western ocean, and more generally in making known the true character and capacity of the earth. The fifteenth century was the period at which the Middle Ages ended and modern times began. For a long time European society had been dominated by the old forces of localism under which the feudal system had sprung and flourished. The most striking feature of the age was its individualization of everything pertaining to the political and social life of man.

Accumulation of energies

The energies of society were thus so greatly distributed as to have no considerable working force in the direction of progress. The powers of the peoples and nations of Europe were as liberated steam floating in thin clouds or falling as mere mist in local showers. The general was

wanting; the individual was omnipresent and predominant in all parts. As a result, those enterprises requiring an aggregation of force or the backing of the whole mass of society in the form of national authority lagged or perished. The dreams of philanthropists, of scholars and statesmen, ended with the waking. The actual world was so greatly broken up and distracted as to be unfavorable in the last degree for carrying out the great projects or for demonstrating in any form the higher life of man.

Broken up state of society

It was reserved for the Columbian epoch to witness the end of this condition in the greater part of Europe. The age of centralization came, and the struggle began between the progressionists, whose vision had reached somewhat into the future, and the reactionists, who believed that Feudalism was the final political estate of the human race. The clash between these two classes of opinions, these two kinds of activity, resulted in a transformation of society—tedious and painful it may have been, but nevertheless transformation, in which the old perished and the new arose in its stead.

Centralization and transformation

These facts may well arouse our interest in the general features of the pre-Columbian age. In France, for instance, we note with delight the progress of nationality and its triumph over the spirit of localism. The beautiful Joan of Arc heard the "Voices" in her peasant home of Domrémy, and saw a vision of angels. The Burgundians, representatives of the past, and the

hated English, had her country under heel. Beleaguered Orleans moaned for deliverance. The king and the nobility were unable to break the siege and drive thence the invaders. The Maid of Domrémy came like a virgin Artemis to the battle, and the past was terrified at the apparition; for she was the spirit and impersonation of the new French nation. The people received her as the angel of deliverance and victory; but the ancients, the priests, the representatives of feudalism, rejected her, and sold her to like-minded foreigners who condemned and burned her, and gave her precious ashes to the winds and waters. It was the first pass between a rising nationality and the spectral goblins of the Middle Ages.

Joan of Arc promotes French nationality

The real struggle, however, was to come afterwards. Louis XI. may be called the first real king of France. Coming to the throne in 1461, he found the country in the grip of the ancient feudal aristocracy that had supported his father and hated himself during his Dauphinage. He stood face to face with a power which had triumphed thus far over every opposition. Against him were arrayed the representatives of the old feudalistic liberties of Europe.[1] At their head stood his renowned cousin, Charles of Charolais, Duke of Burgundy, famous forever under his name of Charles the

Louis XI.'s triumph over Charles the Bold

[1] "The dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, Alençon, Bourbon, the Count of Dunois, so renowned for his valor in the English wars, the families of Foix and Armagnac; and at the head of all, Charles Duke of Berry, the king's brother and presumptive heir,"—Hallam's *View of the State of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. i., pages 94–5.

Bold. With him, for some reason not easily discoverable, the sympathy of after-times have rested; but progress, emancipation, nationality, all the political and social virtues of which the age was so greatly in need, including the spirit of discovery, were arrayed under the banners and defended by the sword of Louis. Backed by the nation as against the aristocracy, he triumphed, and France was centralized. Her territories were extended by the addition of no fewer than ten provinces;[1] and in a short time Brittany was also added. The country was so greatly enlarged that at the accession of Louis XII. the map of France had approximated its present character.

Subjugation of feudal aristocracy

In this conflict the French peasantry arose from their abject condition to become soldiers, artisans, and keepers of vineyards. The feudal aristocracy was put down with a strong hand. Not, indeed, that the aristocracy was exterminated or reduced to the level of the Commons; but the counts and barons and chiefs who stood for the ancient system were brought into subjection to the Crown, and humbled to the extent that the great Revolution, three hundred years afterwards, might extinguish them altogether.

Following hard after the extension of territorial area came the centralization of the French government. Now it was that the administration became regular and rational. Hitherto there had been in the governmental system no unity and no

[1] Roussillon, Cerdagne, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Picardy, Artois, Provence, Maine, Anjou, and Perche.

cohesion. The methods of taxation had been as various as the provinces were numerous. The military forces of the kingdom had been made up of irregulars gathered from divers parts and commanded by local officers. Under Louis XI. the old system was extinguished, and a regular military establishment created. Before the end of his reign, which was extended to within nine years of the discovery of America, a permanent militia, called *Compagnies d'Ordonnance,* having the three general divisions of cavalry, archers, and infantry, was organized. The command-in-chief was given to officers under appointment of the king; order was thereby easily maintained in all the provinces of the realm, and feudal revolt made well-nigh impossible.

Regularizing of government and administration

Thus the French monarchy was confirmed in its powers and prerogatives. The tax called the *taille*[1] was made perpetual; so that the government should not any longer be dependent on incidental conditions for its support. Parliaments began to be called with regularity. Between the years 1451 and 1501 the parliaments of Grénoble, of Bordeaux, of Dijon, of Rouen, and of Aix were held; and the law-making and revenue-granting powers of each body were acknowledged to the extent that they became constitutional. Never before since the precarious days of Hugh Capet had the French

Taille becomes perpetual, parliaments increase

[1] In the reign of Charles VII. "The general term *taille*, or *tax*, seems here appropriated to the particular tax made perpetual in the reign of Charles VII."—Guizot's *History of Civilization,* Vol. i., page 83, note.

government manifested itself in a manner so regular and powerful.

This centralizing political movement soon reached every part of society. The social bond was drawn around hitherto heterogeneous elements; faction became less powerful and the unity of the people better secured than ever before. The whole trend of events was premonitory of a new national life, which must soon demand a freer arena and a broader limit of enterprise.

These distinguishing features of French history in the times immediately preceding the discovery of America were not peculiar to France, but were common throughout central and western Europe. The general tendency of the age was the same in all the better European countries. Beyond the Rhine there was a like consolidation of territory and government; unfortunately, the federative and elective constitution of the empire made it impossible to erect a unified German nation as Louis had erected a unified French one. There, however, the House of Hapsburg gained a political ascendency almost identical with that achieved by Louis XI. in his conquest of the French aristocracy. The emperor Frederic III., whose reign covered a large part of the Columbian epoch, rose to a rank among the German princes which had not been attained by any other emperor since the Crusades. The work accomplished by him in centralizing political society and in enlarging the prerogatives of the empire was renewed by Maximilian in the year after the discovery of America.

Similar consolidation in Germany

The hereditary dominions of Austria were centralized in that form which they continued to hold with little variation for three hundred years. Measures like those of Louis XI., for the regulation of civil society, were taken up by the contemporaneous Hapsburg princes and confirmed as elements of the imperial system.

The same improvements were made on the side of society proper. Military methods were reformed and remodeled, so that the empire henceforth had at its command a regular army, which might be used in the maintenance of domestic order as well as in the prosecution of foreign war. A postal system was founded like that of France. The diffusion of information became comparatively easy and rapid. At the same time a system of political marriages was adopted by the princes of the House of Hapsburg, the effects of which remain in Europe to the present time. Frederic III. took in marriage Eleanor of Portgugal, as if to bind together in his offspring the interests of the Latin and Teutonic races.

Standing army and postal system

It became a maxim of the Imperial House "to conquer by marriages." Charles the Bold had for his heiress a daughter Mary, who became the representative of the old feudal aristocracy. Her hand was eagerly sought by more than one sovereign of the epoch.[1] Maximilian was successful

Hapsburgs "conquer by marriages"

[1] "There was one obvious mode of preventing all further contest, and of aggrandizing the French monarchy far more than by the reunion of Burgundy. This was the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin, which was ardently wished in France."—Hallam's *View of the State of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. i., page 102.

in the competition, and this united the provinces of the princess with his own. Later on came the project of the emperor to marry his daughter Margaret to Charles VIII. of France. By such transactions the remnants of the ancient feudal nobility were to be absorbed, and the fragments of territory which they still possessed gathered up and consolidated in the hands of a common offspring. The reader need not be reminded that by these means a condition was prepared whereby, in the early part of the following century, Charles V. became by birth and inheritance the proprietor of the better part of all Europe. On the one side he was the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and on the other side the grandson of Maximilian the Hapsburger and Mary of Burgundy!

Individual energies insufficient

The significance of this great expansion and consolidation of political and civil society was in relation to the new era which was about to arise, and which was destined to present as its most remarkable episode the discovery of America. Modern society has learned that many enterprises most favorable to civilization are too heavy and vast to be undertaken by the individual ability of man. Such projects are accordingly remanded by history to society at large; they belong to those great corporate powers which exist under the authority of the state, or better still to the state itself; for the state in its best intent is no more and no less than the aggregate will and organized purpose and capacity of the whole people. In the

pre-Columbian epoch History, although she was unconscious of the fact, seems also to have made the discovery that it required more than individual energies for the accomplishment of the tasks and problems at which she had then arrived. She accordingly proceeded to prepare her resources for the emergency, to accumulate the energy necessary for the effort, and to centralize her powers against an event which, though she did not foresee it, was nevertheless at the very door.

England also consolidates

The same political tendencies were equally manifested in the contemporaneous annals of England. In that country the history of the fifteenth century was made up principally of two conspicuous events. The first of these was the wars with France, by which English nationality was first aroused to consciousness. The second was the Wars of the Roses. The rival Houses of York and Lancaster, each deriving its claims to royalty from their common father Edward III., took up arms, and from the death of Henry V. to the accession of the House of Tudor made bloody the better part of our ancestral island. In the midst of this period of desolation and destruction, political reforms, such as we have noted in France and Germany, were taken up, promoted, and confirmed in England. Under Henry V. a system of custom-house duties was established by which a large revenue was brought to the Crown. The English princes and nobility went to their own destruction in the wars of York and Lancaster; the old aristocracy, flourishing since the times of

the Conqueror, was ruined. Some noble houses were extinguished, the great dominions were subdivided into pettier ones, and more than sixty scions of the blood royal perished in the struggle.

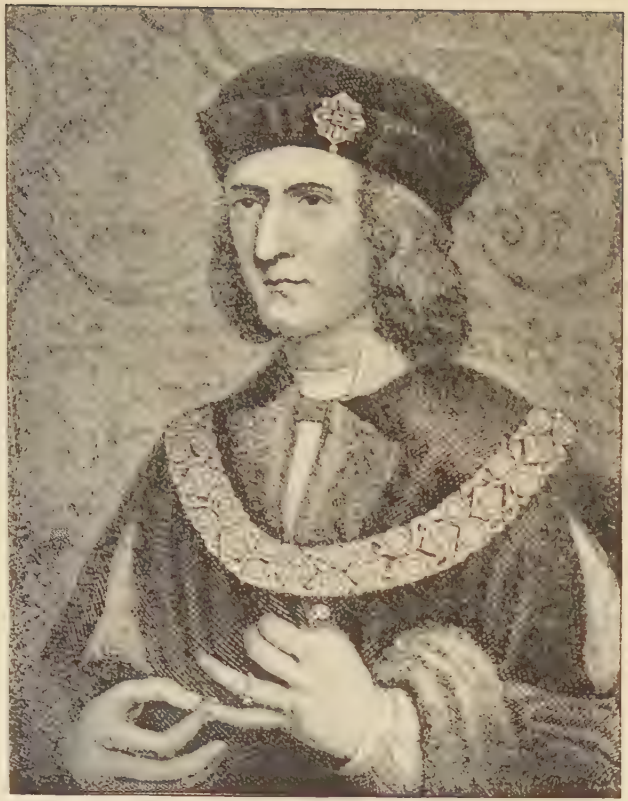
Analogies of Yorkist wars to those of Louis XI.

The whole benefit—if benefit there might be—in this murderous work accrued to the monarchy and the king. The English government was aggrandized on the ruins of the old Norman aristocracy.[1] The Wars of the Roses correspond almost precisely in their historical character with the conflict in France between Louis XI. and Charles the Bold. The House of Tudor emerged from the Yorkist and Lancastrian struggle with new powers, new resources, and new prerogatives. The political forces of England were concentrated in the Crown; and the government, becoming large and regular, began to foreshadow the methods and manner of modern times.

Political marriages adopted in England

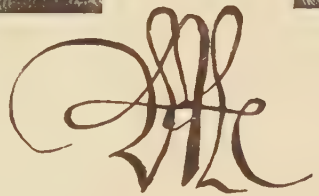
In England also at this epoch royal marriages took the political form and complexion. The system of union adopted by the English princes and nobility tended, as on the Continent, to the centralization of power. During the ascendency of the House of York, its representatives zealously sought to gain the upper hand of the Lancastrians by absorbing them in marriage. Richard of Gloucester had such a scheme in his mind at every stage of his desperate career. He went to the battle of

[1] "When at length these sanguinary struggles were brought to an end, the English nobility were ruined, and no longer able to preserve the power which they had previously exercised. The coalition of the great barons was no longer able to govern the throne."—Guizot's *History of Civilization,* Vol. i., page 236.



RICHARD III. OF ENGLAND.

HENRY VII. OF ENGLAND.



SIGNATURE OF RICHARD III.

Bosworth Field with the vision of Elizabeth of York before his eyes. There he lost not only his crown, but also his royal bride.

By the union of Henry of Richmond and the Princess Elizabeth all the tangled claims of the two houses were at last bound up. A condition was thus prepared which made great national enterprises a possibility. Then and there were laid the foundation of that maritime adventure by which the flag of the first Tudor was to be carried along the American coast from Labrador to Cape Hatteras. The issue of the marriage was that Henry VIII. in whom the centralizing tendencies of English history were expressed in so remarkable a manner.

Bosworth Field creates England's naval greatness

In Italy the same historical forces were at work, but with results somewhat different from those attained in the country north of the Alps. Italy was a country differently situated. Geographical expansion was impossible, from the stringent limits of the surrounding seas. Political consolidation was equally difficult from the peculiar nature of Italian society. There a system of small republicanism had been succeeded by a system of municipal aristocracy. The spirit of localism had become prevalent in the Middle Ages, and Italy was broken up into a multitude of principalities. The progress of monarchy, so conspicuous among the governments of Western Europe, was checked in Italy, and the isolation of the petty states was maintained until within the memory of men still living.

Checking of centralization in Italy

Italian republics perish

Yet the *tendency* toward centralization was felt in every part. The republics of Lombardy were brought under the dominion of the duchy of Milan. Genoa in 1464 was subjugated and added by the same power. In some principalities certain noble houses, such as the Medici at Florence and the Sforzas in Milan, gained control of the state, and republicanism proper was extinguished by them. The Italian republics in general perished just before the Columbian epoch or during that period. With this fact, however, the tendency towards the establishment of a large monarchy was permanently checked. The political powers of Italy remained in their segregated condition, or presently fell under the dominion of the great sovereignties beyond the Alps.

Why his countrymen repulsed Columbus

In the conditions here described lay the reasons and explanation of some of the remarkable features of the Columbian story. We may anticipate what is to be hereafter elucidated, and say that Columbus failed of backing or even sympathy in his own country—his very birth-city and Venice—not because of the absence of intelligence among Italians, not because they were less enlightened and progressive than were the men of the West and the North, but because of the broken-up, isolated, and hostile state of the political powers in the Italian peninsula. There had been no such concentration of the public life of the Italians of the fifteenth century as we have witnessed in France and Germany and England, and as we shall hereafter see, in still larger measure, in

LORENZO DE' MEDICI.

Spain. It was useless for Columbus, or any other great navigator of his times, to apply for resources and assistance to the Italian states. It is for this reason that we have the remarkable spectacle of one Genoese captain, greatest of his age, navigating the Atlantic under the flag of Castile, another under the flag of England; Sebastian Cabot of Venice sailing under the latter; and Verrazano of Florence voyaging forth under the banner of France. Italy furnished the men; but the consolidated states of Western Europe gave the resources and patronized the enterprises.

Passing the Pyrenees, and fixing our attention on Spain and Portugal, we note the same general features as in the countries of the North. Indeed, centralization accomplished at this period its most striking results in the Spanish peninsula. The reader need not be reminded of the political condition which had long prevailed in this portion of Southwestern Europe. Here in the eighth century the kingdom of the Visigoths had given place to the political institutions of the Arabs and the Moors. All the better parts of Spain had been overrun and subjected by the Mohammedan armies. The crescent was seen from Cordova and Granada to the Pyrenees, and far into Southern France. The Moorish ascendency ensued; but in the northwest the Christians first revived, and then became aggressive. During a great cycle of romance, zealotry, and war, the two banners of Islam and the Christ were advanced and forced back by turns. At length the Moors were pent up

Unifying tendency illustrated by Spain

in their kingdom of Granada, and the rest of the peninsula was recovered by the Spaniards.

Aragon, Castile, and Leon united

After this reconquest several Christian kingdoms of small estate arose. Of these Leon, Aragon, and Castile were the principal. Each had its own sovereign, its own institutions, its own history and tradition. At length the centralizing tendency began to express itself in measures and methods identical with those which we have seen in France and England. On one question, namely, the expulsion of the Islamites, all Christian Spain was agreed; but for a long time the Spanish kings held apart and were sometimes at war. Portugal was set off as a distinct state, and once and again was united with the major kingdom. Among the Christian powers, the first distinctly consolidating movement was the mergement of the little kingdom of Leon with the larger sovereignty of Castile. This was first effected in the eleventh century, but was not permanently accomplished until the thirteenth. It was the *united* Castile and Leon which the Princess Isabella the Catholic received in 1474; and this she held in prospect when she was betrothed to Ferdinand of Aragon. After the marriage, each of the Spanish sovereigns retained his hereditary crown; each continued in separate sovereignty until the death of the queen in 1504.

Historical parallels

The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella corresponds historically with that of Elizabeth of York to Henry VII.; that of Anne of Brittany to Charles VIII.; and that of Mary of Burgundy to

Emperor Maximilian. In each instance the result was territorial expansion, political centralization, and the consolidation of political society. In Spain—owing mostly to the isolation of the country—the unification of power and the augmentation of the monarchy were more conspicuous and permanent than in any of the nations beyond the Pyrenees. During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the old antipathies of the Christian states ceased to operate, and the religious and social sympathies prevailed. Before the end of the reign, it was evident that the crown of the consolidated kingdoms would pass without dispute to the offspring of the late illustrious king and queen. The saying that "Colon gave a New World to Castile and Aragon" might presently be amended to read "a New World *to Spain.*"

Marriages extinguish old antipathies

For meanwhile the work of political centralization had gone forward triumphantly. It was accomplished coincidently with the final absorption of the Moors and the destruction of their last kingdom of Granada. The long-protracted siege of Malaga was ended with victory, in 1487. In the course of the following five years the subjugation of the Mohammedan remnants was completed. Granada was absorbed into Spain, and governmental unity was soon effected in every part of the peninsula excepting Portugal. The transformation of society was more rapid and complete in Spain than in any other of the European kingdoms. There was less resistance of the past to the new order of things than was met in any other

Granada absorbed, Spanish society transformed

state. We shall presently see how it was that the complete concurrence and blending of the political and religious powers of the kingdom—the oneness of the priesthood and the Junta—conducted to the civil and social changes of the age. Neither element resisted the progress of the other. More properly, the priestly order and the mammoth religious establishment did not put themselves in the way of the development of the monarchy and the unification of institutions, *because* the Mother Church saw in the movement the probable augmentation of her own resources and fame. There was in Spain at this epoch a situation that may well remind us of the union of the Church with the Empire in the early Middle Ages.

Union of Church and State in Spain

One of the striking features of the epoch which we here consider was the disposition of monarchy in all parts of Europe to rely more than ever before upon the assistance of parliamentary bodies. We have seen how in France parliaments were at this era more frequently convened than ever before. It was at this age that the English parliament—partly though and partly because the nobility had been so decimated by the Wars of the Roses—emerged into larger and more regular activity than had hitherto been known.

Palmy days of parliaments

In Spain, the corresponding fact is found in the institution and development of the Inquisition. It is here that that gloomy power had its origin—here and in Italy. It is only justice to the Mother Church to allow that in the first intent the Inquisition had a parliamentary, rather than a truly

Origin of the Inquisition

inquisitorial, character. The bottom impulse to its organization was more political than religious. It cannot be doubted that from the first it had in its bosom the seeds of that horrid efflorescence and fruitage which have given it its infamous reputation with mankind; but it is true that the purpose expressed, and perhaps consciously entertained, was not originally that purpose of malevolence, horror, and cruelty which afterwards prevailed.

Inquisition not ill-meant

The student will thus perceive in the pre-Columbian epoch a community of political features and tendencies in all the leading states of Central and Western Europe. The identity is not fanciful, but real. There was everywhere an accumulation of energy—a centralizing movement in the forces and resources of civil society. There was a uniform expansion and reconstruction and consolidation of territories. Governments became strong and few. They had been weak and many. They began to possess the means and to discover the methods of promoting great enterprises. Their knowledge and motives were still confined within the limits of ignorance and prejudice; but they now began, in the modern manner, to enter into rivalry with one another, to compete in adventure, and to seek the opportunities of renown and fame with posterity. It is clear in the retrospect that the age was unconsciously preparing for the remarkable act with which the New Era was to be ushered in.

Common political features through Europe

The great men of the pre-Columbian era, as well as the institutions, political and social, of the

different European states, had a common feature. The monarchs who wore the crown in France, England, Germany, and Spain were all strikingly of the same type. The first Henry Tudor was an English Louis XI., as Louis was a French Tudor. Maximilian and Ferdinand the Catholic were the German and Spanish types of the same general character. The personality as well as the policy of these four rulers was almost identically developed. There was in the mind of each the shadow and portent of the past. There was also something of the augury and light of the future. Henry VII. was defined by the writers of subsequent times as dark-minded, crafty, and cold. These features of his life were derived from the preceding age. He was also charged by the annalists of Elizabeth's time (albeit he was the grandfather of the queen) with being deficient in enterprise, unwilling to support even his own convictions relative to progress and achievement in national affairs.

Pre-Columbian likeness of great men

The age of Drake and Frobisher looked back with contempt at the lost opportunities of Henry's reign. It cannot be doubted that this conservatism of the king, particularly as it related to maritime adventure, was also an inheritance of the past. The rulers of the world have nearly always deduced their principles of government from the age or ages behind them. Henry VII. merely conformed his public policy to the current rule among monarchs to do nothing rash, and therefore nothing great! But if on the other

Traditional principles govern kings

hand we compare him with the English kings who had gone before, we shall discover at a glance how great his stature was, and how his policy surpassed in progress, and even virtue, the methods of the preceding sovereigns.

This interpretation of the character of the first Tudor and his government may be repeated with little variation about the nearly contemporaneous king of France. Louis XI. had the same dark mind, the same suspicion and jealousy, the same subtlety and craft, which we note in Henry VII. The French monarch had more wit, more genius, more ambition, more statecraft, than did the king of England. But at the same time he was conservative on the side of enterprise and adventure. Beyond the limits of that large state polity which he created and defended, he was a man without a vision, and without the prophetic glance. The Emperors Frederic and Maximilian were, as men and rulers, of the same mode and purpose. A kind of greatness had risen in them perfectly in accord with the centralizing tendency in government and the unifying principle in society. These two qualities the rulers referred to possessed in full measure, as was fitting in the kings of the age; but the progressive elements in their characters were intermixed with the residue of darkness and force and craft and brutal war spirit of the earlier Middle Ages.

Henry VII. like Louis XI. and German emperors

Of the same type in all respects was Ferdinand V., called the Catholic. The student of history will catch at a glance the common features which

the Spanish monarch possessed with those of his brother kings beyond the Pyrenees and the Rhine. We note in the mind of Ferdinand that same gloom and dangerous silence by which the mediæval ruler was always characterized. He seemed to have been brought to power and confirmed as the joint ruler of united Spain without regard to his own contrivance. He was a man of destiny in the smaller sense; namely, that he obeyed destiny and did not aspire to command it. In common with his contemporaneous sovereigns, he sought to consolidate his kingdom, to accumulate resources, to establish his authority. But it could never be said that he was influenced by aspirations or enthusiasm, or moved by the great possibilities that lay hidden beyond the immediate curtain.

Ferdinand's analogy with contemporaries

We dwell, in this connection, on the personal characters of the kings of the epoch under consideration, that the reader may, after a little reflection, dismiss his wonder at the treatment which Columbus received in his canvass of Europe for a patron. It may readily be discerned that though the age had skillfully prepared the antecedents of the great thing about to be done, the men who held the energies of the age in their hands were little disposed to promote the enterprise or to loose the exploit on its course. The age was, in a word, politically considered, ready for the adventure; but the personal consciousness and will of men shrank, for a while, from the hazard of the undertaking.

Personal agencies retard Columbus' enterprise

Another aspect of the political life must finally be noted. We have thus far considered the condition of the principal states of Western Europe without respect to the *relations* existing among them. It was reserved for the pre-Columbian epoch to witness the birth, not only of nationality, but of internationality; for now it was that statecraft in a larger sense, as including diplomacy, was first conceived and practiced. The expansive spirit of the times demanded international relations; and the same began to be cultivated by the kings of Christendom. Diplomacy had its birth among the Italian republics and aristocracies. It was by them that the practice of sending resident embassies was instituted. Italy, by its peculiar geographical position, by its intellectual pre-eminence, and particularly by the segregated condition of its political powers, was most favorably situated for the discovery and promotion of the means and methods of intercourse among states. It was easy for one of the petty republics, consisting of little more than a central city, to open such intercourse with its neighbors. Maritime communication around the Italian coasts, touching many of the principal cities, was so natural as to become inevitable.

Beginnings of diplomacy

The first diplomatic relations of governments in modern times were established in the era which we are considering, under the simple motive of advantage. The first resident ambassadors were received with distrust and held in extreme disfavor. They were justly regarded, in their

Motive of international relations

persons and offices, as little better than spies. But the benefit of resident embassies was soon so manifest that the system quickly made itself general, and soon came to be regarded as honorable in the highest measure.

From Italy diplomacy was borne across the Alps, and from France as a centre was extended to all the Western kingdoms. Machiavelli, who may be regarded as the father of European diplomacy, was born in 1469, and died in 1527. His life covered the Columbian epoch. He became the mouthpiece and voice of that age as respected questions of diplomacy, the principles of political art, and the methods—barbarous as they were—of a rising internationality.

Machiavelli

Already at the time when the vision of Columbus had taken form in his mind, leading him forth from court to court, from country to country, the diplomacy of Europe was sufficiently advanced for the ruler of one kingdom to know what was done and purposed at the capitals of his contemporaries. A useful jealousy was thus created, subserving an excellent purpose in the history of the times. It is sufficient in this connection to cite the fact that it was by the jealous alarm of the Spanish court, and after Columbus had actually shaken the dust from his feet and departed for France, hoping at the court of Charles VIII. to obtain the patronage which had been denied him in the South, that he was hastily overtaken, recalled, and commissioned for the most marvelous voyage known in human history.

Usefulness of royal jealousies

CHAPTER II.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT AND MOTIVE

During the Middle Ages, European society was essentially religious. Political systems were developed *after* the Christian system of religion had taken possession, first of the Roman Empire, afterwards of feudalism, and finally of the nascent institutions of modern times. The infant secular societies revolved within the larger orbit of religion. The disengagement of the one from the other, and the complete autonomy of the secular life, have hardly yet been conclusively effected in any state or kingdom.

Religion interfused with state polities

At the Columbian epoch there was, as yet, a complete entanglement and interfusion of religious and political conditions. Indeed, at that period the religious organization was much broader and more effective than any civil institution in any country. In modern times the church, viewed in its relations with the state, is defined as *imperium in imperio*—a system of rule within another system of rule of larger extent and power. This relation was reversed in the fifteenth century; then it was that the inchoate political systems of the West existed and acted *within* the paramount empire of religion, which claimed political as well as spiritual dominance.

Pre-Columbian era an age of awakening

For these reasons an examination into the religious aspect and motive of Europe in the pre-Columbian era cannot fail of interest and profit. There was in this age a distinct religious preparation for the opening of a new era in human history. In such preparation there was a more distinct consciousness of intention on the part of the actors than we may expect to find in the thought and purpose of civil society. Perhaps the religious organization as a whole was never at any time inspired with the dream and hope of finding a New World across the western waters. But the minds of many ecclesiastics, having once accepted the possibility of such an event, became immediately inflamed with religious zeal respecting the inhabitants of the new continents and the probable increase of the dominions of Mother Rome.

Let us consider briefly but attentively the place held by the Holy Church in the civilization and enterprises of the fifteenth century.

Policy of Rome in secular relations

The question is a vast one. Rome had for many centuries held variable relations with the chaotic society of Europe. Under early feudalism she had gone into obscuration and disgrace. At no other time in her history did she suffer so much as when the half-barbarian feudal lords—lineal descendants of the wholly barbaric chieftains by whom the Roman empire had been subverted—crushed her under foot. In the ages of her subjugation she was humble and patient; but she also awaited her opportunity. She looked for

the coming of the time when she might first cautiously enter into union with the secular powers of Europe, regain her influence over the minds of kings and princes, and then in turn subject them to her will.

This dream Rome always cherished. At length she found herself so well advanced that she was able, with a loud outcry of sacrilege and profanation, aided by really urgent commercial reasons, to rouse the nations of Western Europe and send them in fiery masses against the Infidel dogs who had taken the city of David, raised the crescent of Islam over Mount Moriah, and lighted their pipes as they sat cross-legged on the tomb of the Christ. For nearly two centuries the Holy Wars were prosecuted, sometimes with a measure of success, more frequently with disaster and ruin to the Crusaders. The final result was the defeat of the Christians, their expulsion from the East, the restoration of Mohammedan authority all around the Eastern Mediterranean, and its reflux westward to not only the City of Constantine, but far toward Vienna, and on the southern side as far as the Mauresque domes and pinnacles of Cordova.

Influence of hierarchy in stimulating Crusades

Though the Church shared in the disastrous results of the Holy Wars, though she was humiliated by the issue, and ever and anon cried out in rage and despair for the renewal of the conflict, she nevertheless congratulated herself upon the success of her scheme in rousing Europe in a common cause on the score of religion. She perceived

Church then turns to civil ambitions

with pride and exultation that she had been able to marshal forth the most illustrious princes and kings of Christendom, and to compel them by religious obligations to the rescue of the Holy Places from the hands of the Infidel.

Reforms fail

What, therefore, should she do when the Crusades were definitely over but assume that commanding position in the structure of secular society to which by right of accomplishment she seemed entitled and endeavor to enforce for the world's good the dominion of the world. For we must remember not only the monk Hildebrand as Gregory VII. attempting and bequeathing to his successors the task of humbling the temporal power and bringing it into subjection to the Church, but the same indomitable characters striving against the disintegrating forces of worldliness and immorality which threatened to divert the very sources of the strength of the Church itself. That Urban II. united the forces of Christendom against the infidel in one universal blaze of religious enthusiasm was much; that he stood for holiness, piety and righteousness within the Church was even more.

Evil conditions for the Church

However, upon the Church itself the evil days had come. The western world was changing, and the Church, most powerful and universal of institutions, must of necessity change with it. From the ninth century on, these dangerous tendencies had been perceived and were strongly combatted by the leaders of Christendom. "I have hated iniquity and loved righteousness, therefore I die

in exile," might have been the despairing cry of many another reformer than Gregory VII. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Cluny movement seemed about to revolutionize the Christian world. But far reaching as that influence was, it failed to accomplish its entire purpose. The forces arrayed against it were too strong. The ambition and passions of men swayed them rather than the Christian virtues of humility and unselfishness which the reformers preached.

The tendency of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was toward the perfection of organization, political, industrial and religious. Society was changing from the purely feudal form; the weaker elements of it were disappearing, national consciousness was beginning to appear; out of the confusion of mediaeval times great principalities were forming to be consolidated later into kingdoms. This was also the period of the rapid development of municipalities, the many busy hives of industry. They became sources of great income for the princes to whom they owed or confessed a doubtful allegiance. They were the terminals of the great trade routes by which a vast commerce enriched the western part of Europe. They originated or developed municipal independence, while they increased, to a degree never known before or since, the dependence of the people upon the various groups, such as the guilds, in which political power rested.

Changes in Society

Meanwhile the Church had consolidated her power. From the first she had been, as an insti-

tution, universal. In religious matters in general her authority had been unquestioned. But the Church had ceased to be a purely religious institution, and had become one of the most powerful elements of feudal society. Archbishops and bishops furnished their contingents to the feudal army and sometimes commanded them. They were temporal princes as well as spiritual lords, and more than once threatened to disrupt the Church in the interests of their temporalities. Moreover, through a vast system of courts, the Church controlled half the jurisprudence of Europe, and streams of wealth flowed constantly into her coffers. Thus it happened that in temporal control the hand of the Church became more and more evident. With the development of secular authority the seeds of a conflict were sown which ripened speedily into an unexpected harvest. The question was at first one of practices rather than creeds, of temporal and financial advantage rather than dogma.

Power of the Church

In the first years of the fourteenth century the papal power shone with an undimmed brilliancy. The ceremonies of the papal jubilee attracted the eyes of Europe to the capital of Christendom, and Rome dictated her laws to the nations of the West. Yet there were two hitherto obedient servants of the Church, the kings of France and England, who were disposed to disregard her mandates, not indeed in matters of faith, but rather in the processes of political control. At length the great schism of the West broke out. The papacy was

split asunder. One pope was established at Rome, another at Avignon. All Christendom was scandalized by the recriminations and anathemas of the two popes, as they hurled their bolts of wrath at each other across the Alps. Western Europe was divided into rival camps supporting the warring parties.

The theory of conciliar control of the Church had never been abandoned. Now it was that the great councils took up the question and undertook to settle the papal quarrel, as well as to reform the Church, for heresy was rife. One council was held at Pisa in 1409. Five years afterwards another was convened at Constance, called by the Emperor Sigismund. Summoned primarily to reform abuses of the Church, the party of privilege and perogative was found to be so strongly entrenched, that of the three great objects to be accomplished, the rescue of the Holy Places, the reform of the Mother Church in head and members, the eradication of heresy, only the cases of John Huss and Jerome of Prague were taken up, and the flames of their burnings were soon seen on the shores of the lake. In 1431 the Council of Basle was called, but the reforming party having the upper hand, the Pope adjourned the council first to Ferrara and afterwards to Florence. Part of the delegates, however, remained at Basle, elected Pope Felix V, and then removed their sittings to Lausanne, where the council was dissolved in 1449.

The Councils

Though the great councils of the Church had

been called to regulate the papal office, the popes by skillfully opposing one party to another, preserved their powers intact and later increased them at the expense of the liberties and welfare of the Church. The popes themselves became great territorial princes, great politicians whose motive, worthy enough in itself, was the unification of Italy and the expulsion of the hated foreigner. They entered heartily into the new life of the Renaissance, and became the patrons of art and letters. As to the projects of reform, all these came to naught. Very soon, and as a result of such failure, the premonitions were seen of that great Reformation which broke out in the first quarter of the following century. The shadow and fruit of such a rupture were in the air, and the forecast impulse of the event was felt by all the more intelligent prelates of Christendom. Now the party of reform was broken, and the class from which the one-time reformers were drawn found a new field for their activities for which the expanded life of society gave opportunity.

The Church and the Renaissance

Such was the condition in which the strong and widely distributed priesthood of Rome appeared in the Columbian epoch. The intelligence of the prelates was considerable; but their learning was apt to be deep and narrow like a fissure in the rocks. Many of them had received and spread the learning of the Renaissance; they had entered into its spirit and had assisted powerfully in its diffusion. For a time they seemed destined to be

the leaders of the new thought. Then came the reaction. A new form of Scholasticism arose, chiefly developed by the Spanish orders of the Dominicans and Jesuits, and their rule speedily prevailed in the western world.

At the same time, however, the intellectual activity of Europe was quickened by the reflex influence of literature from the East. In 1453 Constantinople, for a long time the center of this eastern culture, was taken by the Turks. The accumulated products of human thought were suddenly dissipated—scattered to foreign parts. The treasuries of antiquity, including the greater part of its philosophy, poetry and scientific principia, were driven like chaff out of the city of Constantinople by the fiery flail of Islam. The scholars of the East flocked to the untutored West, bringing with them the residue of learning which had accumulated during the centuries of decadence of the Graeco-Roman Empire. Of still greater advantage, they brought to the keener, more virile intellect of the West the knowledge of Greek which enabled the scholars of the early Renaissance to interpret for themselves the masterpieces of classic and early Christian learning. Western Christendom was enriched at the expense of Eastern Christendom. Much of these added resources of knowledge the Church absorbed, but she also rejected much. Much went into the rising fund of secular society. It was seed scattered in a barbaric but fecund soil. An intellectual life arose among the laity which was often antagonis-

Revival of Learning

tic to the intellectual life of the clergy.

As a result of all these antecedents the Church became alarmed, and not without reason, by the surrounding conditions. To her it seemed that the new knowledge, new enterprises, new adventure, must surely sap the foundations of belief, if not of morality as well. She feared all intellectual agitations which were not her own, yet she desired the fruits of all, hoping to use them wisely for her purposes. From this position the new Scholasticism proceeded with its definite aim to show that the Church alone was the source and guardian of truth, and the only authority by which the truth could be determined and defined. From this postulate it followed that the truth could not be found, could not even be sought outside the Church. It was her mission to guard the truth and guide the minds of men into channels leading to it; therefore she resisted and resented every advance which had not at first been taken by herself.

The Church as the Shield of the West

At the Columbian epoch the prelates of Western Christendom were in good repute at every capital in Europe. By their education they were fitted for the places of honor and authority with which they were entrusted. Most of the councils of state were composed of ecclesiastics graded upward from common priests to the most noted archbishops and cardinals. As a rule, their influence was predominant with the kings and queens whom they served, since in general their motives were less selfish and less personal than those of the

nobility. Piety according to the standard of the Church was a prime essential of kingship; and the sovereign was, as a rule, well pleased to follow the advice of his ecclesiastical councillors. Most of the monarchs of the age strongly aspired to the fame of sanctity and orthodox zeal; and not a few were willing to surrender their crowns and scepters for the habiliments and peace of the cloister.

These features of the existing order in Europe are dwelt upon because they furnish the explanation of many otherwise inexplicable parts of the Columbian story. When the possible discovery of a New World—or more properly, when the project of reaching the Indies by westward sailing—was agitated, the matter under the existing constitution of government must be debated by the king's councilors. These were largely drawn from the ecclesiastical order—bishops, monks, and other dignitaries of the Church. All of these held a double allegiance; one allegiance to Rome, and another to their king. Thus it happened that the missionary motive entered strongly into the first plans of discovery.

Churchmen and Laymen

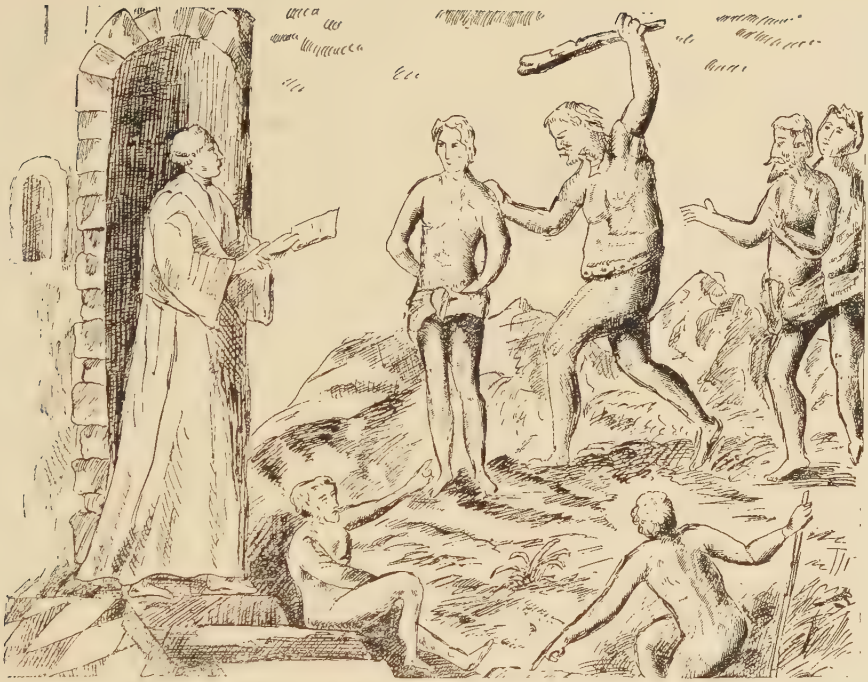
The modern reader may well be perplexed at first in trying to grasp that condition of society which made it necessary or expedient for Columbus and the other men engaged in purely worldly enterprise in his age, to court the favor of the ecclesiastical power; but if the student take into consideration the actual state of the people—if he think himself out of his own century and back

by a span of four hundred years to the times which we are now considering, if he observe carefully the weight of conservative thought in his own day and generation, he will presently discern the nature of the things by which the adventurers and great men of that era were affected.

The Church stood near the throne. She stood in a sense between the throne and all petitioners. She decided whether or not this or that enterprise would be beneficial to the world. She brooded with outspread wings over the peoples and nations of Europe and sought to hold to them the relations of mother-bird to fledgelings. The great men of the era, moreover, were born of the common conditions of the epoch. Their blood and life and thought were derived from an age in which the good of religion was held to outweigh the secular good, or rather was held to produce an ultimate secular good in advance of any apparent immediate advantage.

New views and plans

In no former age had the Church been more ambitious of great things than in the fifteenth century. The thought of possessing the world was hers. The danger of losing the world was before her eyes. This thought and this danger were at the bottom of the strange mixture of aggressiveness and conservatism by which the ecclesiastical history of the epoch was characterized. The Church was, in many respects, the most active, the most energetic, the most persistent body of organized forces in the world. At the same time she was the most conservative corporation to be



PUNISHMENT OF INDIANS FOR NOT ATTENDING CHURCH.

BURNING INDIANS.

PUNISHMENT OF THE INDIANS BY THE SPANIARDS IN THE WEST INDIES.

(Drawn by Champlain.)

found among the nations. Now it happened that the Church gathered into her treasuries the new sciences of the age and the beneficent results of their literature among men. Again she opposed with all the might of her corporate organization the principles which she had favored in another time and place.

Considering these conditions, we are able to discover many of the fundamental motives by which men were controlled in the Columbian epoch. The spirit of conquest pure and simple was still largely prevalent with the kings and princes of Christendom, but there was less opportunity than had previously existed for the display of the passion for the addition of territory by war. The balance of power system had appeared and already furnished a feeble guaranty of the existing order. Ambitious princes must, therefore, look abroad for a new arena. But where was "abroad"? Might it not be on the Eastern verge of the Indies, whence had come such marvelous tales of wealth, and whence, by a slow process of infiltration, came spices, rich fabrics, and gold? And were the Indies to the West as far away as to be inaccessible to discovery and conquest? Such were the questionings and dreams of the ambitious but cautious kings of the fifteenth century.

Eyes of Europe turned to the West

The dream of the Church, however, related to the conquest not of lands but of peoples. To the eastward the Turk had erected an insurmountable barrier against which her crusading forces beat

in vain. It was now the minds and souls of new races of men that she would visit and conquer. Oh, for an open world in some unknown part, where her energies might find vent and exercise unimpeded by the clogs and factions of this schismatic and divided Europe! Therefore, let us, ye secular kings, join our forces in conquest, you for the dominion of lands, we for the possession of souls.

The thirst for gold

Then came the intolerable lust for gain. Gold meant resources; resources meant power; and power meant everything. The passion for gold getting and gold hoarding spread like a plague through all Western Europe; yet to the honor of the Church be it said, that often in the midst of the mercenary crowd whose eyes shone like those of Iscariot, there stood the priest holding the cross above his head, combatting as best he might the motives of the crowd and preaching honesty, truth and righteousness. Too often his efforts were overborne. The missionary motive and the small spirit of adventure which science and genius had revealed and inspired were at first enormously reinforced, then finally extinguished by the passionate dream of gold. There was also the suggestion of the slave. The system of bondage had been preserved from antiquity, and was now revived. The vassalage of the Middle Ages, with predial serfdom and villeinage at its bottom round, had supplied the place of slavery in feudal Europe; but with the suppression of feudalism and the end of the serfdom the thought of slavery

proper came back with redoubled force. Nor was it unfamiliar to Western Europe through Eastern sources, and enslaved Africans were not uncommon. Slaves were brought back as a part of the trophies of the first expeditions down the African coast. The Church had, in the earlier centuries, set herself with determination against the abuses of the slave system. She now sought to mitigate its severity, and yet, while condemning the institution in general terms, found in the Scriptures the moral grounds and justification for bondage of savage races, an argument to be found in almost every sect down to the extinction of African slavery in America.

Such were some of the prevalent motives existent in society in the age of Columbus. The student of history may well complain of the low character of these main-springs of action. He may feel scandalized that religious as well as secular society entertained such degrading principles; but he must remember the difference in conditions present in the fifteenth and twentieth centuries. He must not expect to carry back to any distance the ethical standards of our own age, and he must not set them up as standards of principle and conduct for men of that slowly emergent era. Rather must he consent to view the courts of the Columbian epoch as directed and limited by the motives, caprices and passions of the times, unworthy though they may have been. It was an age of universal activity, an age nevertheless in which the foremost spirits were en-

Ethical standards of the age

tangled in the meshes of a social and religious system, out of which it was almost impossible for them to break away and take flight. Every enterprise of the time was impeded, held back, and hobbled by the thongs of low prejudice and bad motive. Yet men saw the rising light. The East was red with the morning, and even the West, seen dimly through the mists of unknown seas, was dappled and flecked with patches of luminous cloud.

Glancing forward to subsequent rather than backward to antecedent conditions, we find both the political and religious elements in society gratified and elated with the results of the Columbian undertaking. The Spanish race, and indeed all the races of Western Europe, rushed forward to the new islands and continents as though they were Paradise regained. Now it was that the true motives and impulses of the age were revealed. The scientific impulse—the impulse of humanity and civilization pure and simple—was swallowed up in the torrent of avarice, of gold-getting, of land-getting, of slave-getting, which poured forth into the West Indies, and then broke in a line of foam and blood on the American coast. The melee became disgraceful in the last degree. There are in human history few episodes which present human nature in more degraded forms of activity than those which it displayed in the West at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century!

CHAPTER III.

MATERIAL PROGRESS AND INVENTION

Mankind made ready for the great endeavor. It was in *the increment of her knowledge,* the enlightenment of her understanding, that Europe of the fifteenth century presented herself to the best advantage. In this respect the epoch was a veritable dawn of day. Many circumstances contributed to the splendid awakening of the period.

European causes of awakening

> The world rolled over and over and out—
> Out of the darkness—and Lucifer stood
> In the cleft of the morning and saw the rout
> Of the barbarous goblins, a gibbering brood,
> Take wing like spectres across the flood.

It were long to tell the story of the progress and betterment of the human race in this prolific age. The mind suddenly roused itself to new forms of activity, more splendid and generous than it had exhibited since the far-off epoch of Grecian ascendency. The causes of the revival were truly historical. The impulses and enthusiasm of the awakening came out of an age of heroes and heroic deeds. We may well pause to consider briefly some of the ennobling forces, which now began to play upon the human mind and to arouse it from the long lethargy of the Middle Ages, to create the illumination of the New Time.

Stimulating influence of Crusades

Perhaps the most general of the causes of the great reaction was the influence and example of THE HOLY WARS. It was the office of the Crusades to arouse Europe to a consciousness of her powers and possibilities. We have seen how for centuries together the unity of society had been destroyed. Feudalism had segregated political institutions and isolated man. It were quite impossible to conceive of an event more highly stimulating to the faculties and aspirations of men than were the Crusades. They combined in a single movement almost every element of human interest. They drew forth whole peoples from their homes, and started them on a march to far-off regions, of which they were ignorant except by tradition and flying fame.

Experiences of Crusaders

The passion of war and the passion of religion flamed in the Crusader's camp and in his heart. He became an adventurer across the kingdoms of Eastern Europe. He stopped in Italy, visited Rome, saw the sacred places, received the blessing of the Holy Father, took ship, traversed the Mediterranean, wandered about—an unwelcome guest—in the capital of the East, crossed into Asia Minor, met the enemy in the valley of Dogorgan and before the walls of Antioch, looked down from the hills on desecrated Jerusalem, and walked on his knees weeping and praying up the slopes of Calvary. Other armies rose in the West and followed. Strange places were seen, strange peoples encountered, wild shouts heard on the plains of Asia Minor; wild horrors enacted, at the recital

THE CRUSADES IN ECCLESIASTICAL ART.

(Stained-glass windows in old Paris churches.)

of which the reader, even after the lapse of more than seven centuries, is astounded into silence.

We may not, however, enlarge upon the scenes and incidents of the Crusades which constituted so great a part in the history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A single campaign in the Holy Wars required long years for its accomplishment. Sometimes the course of invasion was deflected into Egypt, where the rough Christian warriors of France and England found themselves in the presence of the surviving wrecks of the most ancient civilization of mankind. Well-nigh two hundred years were consumed in this valorous effort of the rude West to reconquer the distant and cultivated East. The general result was enlargement of the minds and warming of the imaginations of Western peoples. There was an enormous increment of actual knowledge; but the increase of mental power was the principal result. Every boorish peasant out of the Occidental parts of Europe who got himself harnessed in armor, made his way to the East, fought with the Turks and Arabs and Mamelukes and lived to return to his own country, came back a man of affairs, and in some sense a gentlemen and scholar. Rough education, to be sure, were these daring and far-off campaigns and battles in Syria. For millions who undertook it, the curriculum was too severe. But the remnants were transformed into a new race of men, and all Western Europe was quickened into life by the return of its veterans from Palestine.

Result of Holy Wars

Transformation of survivors

Reflex effect of Eastern culture

But why should the effect of the Holy Wars have been so salutary upon the battlemen of the West? Because of the learning, the refinement, the superiority of the nations with whom they came into contact into the East. There, first of all, were the scholarly, well-mannered Arabs, with whose culture and lofty character we have already come into acquaintance in Spain. Islam in the first centuries of its career had triumphed by the sword. Peace had been conquered first in Arabia, then in Egypt, and then up to the confines of Persia. A new civilization, far more generous than any which had been witnessed since the Classical ages, spread everywhere into all parts where the Crescent was lifted up.

Arabian attainments in learning

The Arabs, contrary to the general spirit of Mohammedanism, greatly encouraged all forms of culture, instead of opposing them. Their learning was proverbial in every nation. The tradition of it was carried from Bab-el-Mandeb to the Baltic, from the shores of the Caspian to Cape Finisterre. They were by far the most polite and accomplished nation in the world. In comparison with their attainments in scholarship and the arts, the men of Western Europe, at the outbreak of the Holy Wars, were veritable barbarians, and in the next two centuries the disparity increased instead of lessening. The Arabians prosecuted with zeal and success almost every branch of inquiry. They developed the mathematical sciences to an extent theretofore unknown. They devised that system of notation and numeration which was

to pass, in after ages, into the hands of Newton and La Place, and be used by them as the bottom factors of computation in the system of the worlds. Algebra, trigonometry, and possibly the elements of calculus, were invented, or at least discovered and made available in text-books not unworthy of the learned.

Their cultivation of natural sciences

In the natural sciences also the Arabian scholars made wonderful progress. Arabian Islam from the first seems to have had no fear of those forms of knowledge in which the laws and phenomena of the natural world are stated and explained. Instead of looking with dismay, as the scholastics of Christendom have always done, upon the work of exploring the secrets of nature, and interpreting those orders of sequence by which nature's facts are bound together in scientific succession, the early Mohammedan philosophers boldly entered the arcana, and laid their hands without fear upon the principles by which the natural world is made consistent and cosmic. To them we owe the preservation and diffusion of the rudiments of that large group of sciences called natural. The study of astronomy was taken up where it had ended in the hands of the great Greek scientists; and though the Arabian star-lore was mixed with many elements of superstition, it nevertheless conserved the fundamentals of true astronomy. It had observation of the heavenly bodies for its starting-point, and the statement of planetary and sidereal law for its end. In essence, it was science and not magic.

Extent of their scientific fame

We may not forget that as far back as the days of Charlemagne, that mighty monarch of the West sent an embassy to the court of Harun al-Rashid, to inquire into certain astronomical phenomena which he could not understand. The fame of the Arabians, with respect to their knowledge of the heavens, extended into all the parts of the world to which any forms of knowledge and any lines of communication had penetrated. Among them chemistry received its first additions and developments by experiment and demonstration. At the present day it is not known, among the Western nations, to what degrees of success chemical knowledge was expanded and confirmed in the hands of the Arabian scientists; but we know that this department of inquiry into the constitution of nature was assiduously cultivated, and that the results were large and in many cases satisfactory. It is due to them that alchemy furnished the materials for the creation of Chemistry.

History tantalizes the mind

The student of history—if he has considered well the things accessible to his search—must have noted many epochs in which some kindreds among the human race have suddenly advanced in the direction which they were afterwards to take; have made as though they would then and there achieve emancipation, and that freedom and spontaneity of intellectual activity which comes only to the possessors of absolute knowledge and the true keys of nature. He will also note that this expectation is many times disappointed, at least in the expected rapidity of the movement. The

liberation and free flight of the human intellect, promised by the Baconian age in England, scarcely attained full headway till well into the nineteenth century.

It was a movement of the kind described that took place among the Arabian Islamites in the middle of the Dark Ages. In no other part of the world were the lamps of learning so well trimmed, so constantly lighted, so well supplied with oil. Intellectual progress came as the result of intellectual aspiration, and for several centuries the promise might be heard of the redemption of the East from barbarism. It was an age the history of which still remains to be written. The hatred of the Western nations for the institutions of Islam has blinded them not a little to the intellectual greatness and the scientific attainments of the Arabian scholars. But it was the destiny of things that the movement of the Mohammedan mind toward freedom and light should be checked and turned back in disastrous retreat.

Promise of Arabian learning

We are able to discover some of the historical causes which tended to break the line of march and mar the glory of the Islamite intellect. Doubtless the conquests effected in the East by the Turks had much to do with checking and confusing the advancing columns and ennobling impulses of the Arabian Mohammedans. The Turcomans substituted force for reason, coarseness for refinement, bigotry for the spirit of investigation, and a reign of brutal passion for the mild administration of intellect and rational authority. The impact of

Reasons for its failure

the Turks on the southwestern parts of Asia and the eastern parts of Europe, in the age which we are now considering, would seem to be one of the prime misfortunes of human history. Yet in the mysterious orderings of Providence, it was the chosen means for the success of the Protestant Reformation. History is full of such cases, which divide and perplex our sympathies.

Other causes also tended to check the progress of Arabian philosophy and art. There was a reaction in Islam itself against the preponderating scholarship which tended to free the mind from its superstitions, as well as from its ignorance. The later caliphs and orthodox Mohammedan hierarchy may well have been alarmed to witness the spread of a learning, in the light and heat of which their own follies and superstitious formulæ were ready to be consumed. It may be, moreover, that the impulse towards emancipation in the Arabian mind expended itself and died for want of mental force behind it.

Islam revolts against mental liberty

The individual man is from his birth like an arrow shot into the sky. He rises on a certain curve and to a certain height, both of which are determined by the original forces of heredity and possibly by education. A race of men is in a larger sense propelled in like manner into the open firmament of history. It rises, it wavers, it pauses, and then sinks and falls. To be sure, it transmits much, or at least something, of its life and force to other kindreds of the future; but as for itself, it falls away and sinks into the sand.

Progress of races limited by natural law

It is possible that the attainments of the Arabians reached their climax under the operation of this general law, and then declined and perished.

For that age, however, the mind and achievement of Arabia were by far the most splendid which had been witnessed since the classical epoch. Into contact with this mind and this achievement were brought the crusading soldiers out of Western Europe. The latter had left their homes under a wild fanaticism to reach the East, and to cut down the dogs and infidel votaries of the false prophet. The passion of butchery flamed in all breasts as the Crusaders swept on and on to strike the enemy. What then was their astonishment when the hated enemy was seen! How great was the wonder, the amazement of the Western warriors when they found that their enemy was a soldiery in all respects—excepting courage, and even in that their equal—the superior of themselves! The Crusaders may well have thought their first acquaintance with the Arabians a delusion, a fantasy invented by Satan, to confuse their faculties and blunt their hatred. They must have drawn their hands across their eyes as if to dispel a mist or pull aside a curtain, not believing the testimony of their senses.

Crusaders astonished at Arabian culture

In the first place, the Eastern soldiers were clad in an armor the elegance of which had never been rivaled in the West. The weapons of the Arabians were more beautiful than had ever before been seen. Their swords, for exquisite workmanship, were the marvel of the age that

Fine Saracen armor

produced them, and as such they have remained to the present day. Nor is there any modern engraving on steel so curious in its design, so exquisite in its art, as was that which the Arabian workmen so profusely employed upon these.

Arabs' exquisite armor, elegant manners

In manners and intercourse also the enemy was unapproachable in his superiority. No sooner had the necessary transactions of war brought the Christians and Mohammedans into actual contact, than the speech, the bearing, and the diplomacy of the latter shone in a brilliant contrast with the coarseness and vulgarity of the former. The contrast at length brought its inevitable result. The mind of man is so constituted that in spite of all its passions and prejudices, it at length sees things as they are. In the course of a few campaigns, the eyes of the Crusaders were opened. Of a certainty the war passion did not easily or quickly subside. It continued to burn fiercely for more than a century. But the Mohammedans had been seen, and the motives of the war were at once modified. The hatred of the enemy became less intense, and in course of time a positive admiration was felt for the men, the manners, the learning, the refinements of the East.

Crusaders' eyes opened

The tone of all Christendom was henceforth changed with respect to the Arabians, their character, and their manner of life. Western writers began at last to disseminate a truer view of the conditions and features of Eastern civilization. Returning Crusaders were bold enough to speak the truth with respect to the enemy whom they

had encountered in Palestine and Egypt. Certainly the priests of Christendom kept shouting, "God wills it—to the battle!" They continued their wild and ferocious denunciations of the Infidels whom they had never seen; but a wholesome skepticism supervened, and the outcry, while it did not lose its vehemence, lost its effect. The Crusading spirit began to subside. The wars became spasmodic. Long intervals occurred between the campaigns. The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem was narrowed to a city. At last, in 1291, Acre was besieged and taken, and the movement of the West upon the East was at an end.

Phenomena simpler than principles

Then began the movement of the East upon the West. It was not wholly a movement of armies with spears and trumpets and banners, but also a movement of art and learning and progress. The general result of the Crusading wars had been to infect the soldiers of Christendom with the culture and science of the East. This was the sum of the forces which now began to play upon the peoples and institutions of Western Europe. True, it is impossible to say *how much* of the great change which now passed over the European mind should be attributed to its contact with the learning and accomplishments of the Arabians; how much to the intercourse which was opened between Rome and Constantinople on the one side and the countries north of the Alps on the other; and how much to the natural germination of the seeds of a new life in the western parts of the Continent. No doubt all of these causes

Counter-invasion of West by East

Reflex effect of Crusades

conspired and co-operated in bringing in the new era.

"Parallelogram of forces"

The complexity of the historical forces may be seen at every epoch. The human mind is not impelled to its activity by a single line of causation, but by many lines which give to it a movement like the resultant direction of a body under the operation of mechanical forces. We are therefore obliged to concern ourselves rather with the actual direction which the European mind now took—rather, with the forms of inventive activity which it now displayed—than with the ultimate antecedents of the movement. Let us, then, briefly consider some of the new forms of activity, caught for the most part from suggestions brought out of the far East by the returning Crusaders and their fellow-adventurers and travelers, and some of the leading features of the consequent progress which marked the latter half of the fifteenth century.

Art of printing opens new era

First of all, there came THE ART OF PRINTING. By this is meant typography, or printing by means of movable types, as distinguished from the clumsier block-printing which had already been long in use. The subject here opening before us is as full of difficulty as it is of interest. It is almost impossible to mark with exactitude the successive stages through which the art of printing passed on its way to a perfected form. We may note clearly, however, that the transformation was first from handwriting proper to the production of engraved blocks, from which impressions might be taken by hand or otherwise. The latter art was

practiced by the ancients and by the mediæval nations of the East.

The Chinese certainly invented it independently, though they were not the only ones to invent it. By that ingenious people the method of engraving wood blocks for the purpose of reproducing the signs or pictures engraved thereon was in vogue at a very early date. The art was not intended merely to communicate and repeat intelligence, but to duplicate all pictorial forms which the genius of the artist might devise. Indeed, the useful form of printing from blocks, such as we see at the present time in the reproduction of designs on calico and silk, long preceded the higher development in the reproduction of language. The latter art was not unknown even in later classic ages; and it became popular among the Chinese long before any European state had emerged from the shadows of the Dark Ages. A knowledge of the invention was carried from China to Japan, and at a later period began to be diffused among the Western nations.

Chinese block printing

The first appearance of such an art in Europe may be assigned to the last decade of the twelfth century, or just one hundred years from the beginning of the Crusades. The time was thus ample for the bringing back, by the Western warriors and chieftains, of at least the tradition of printing from the countries and peoples with whom they came into contact in the Holy Wars. At any rate, about 1195 block-printing after the Chinese method began to be practiced in Italy, Sicily, and

Introduction into Europe

Spain. The immediate object was to imprint with ink on silk and cotton goods the artistic and half-artistic designs which the ingenuity of the age was able to produce. Soon afterwards the same method was employed in printing playing-cards. It was not, however, until the beginning of the fifteenth century that work of this kind was introduced in the making of books.

First application in book-making

At the last date mentioned, some of the manuals of devotion used by the Church were produced by block-printing. At least part of the pages, including the pictorial designs and the opening lines of the text, were printed. A specimen of this kind still exists under the date of 1423. About 1430 the first complete volume, called the *Biblia Pauperum,* a small folio containing about forty leaves, was produced entire from engraved blocks. All these monuments were antecedent to the invention of types.

Persistence of block printing

The production of tracts, dissertations, and even whole books by block-printing continued to be practiced in Europe from the time of the invention of the art to about the close of the century. The German libraries at the present time possess copies of fully twenty complete publications done by this method. In the libraries of the Netherlands there are about one-half as many. They extend to a date considerably beyond that of the art of printing proper; which shows either that the latter was kept secret by its possessors, or else that the conservatism of the age preferred the older and clumsier method.

This system, however, was not typography, nor did it even have any tendency to produce typography or multiply books. The old system of hand copying, by monks with plenty of time and a capacity for infinite painstaking, was just as cheap. With both systems, only the rich could have books. In both, the great obstacle to cheapness was the excessive cost of the material on which the books were printed, as will be noted shortly. The invention of typography proper consisted essentially in that of *movable* types. This had the same relation to block-printing that the alphabet did to hieroglyphics. An essential part of its utility was the invention of metallic types. It has not been definitely determined precisely to whom the honor should be awarded. Certainly the invention was, so far as Europe is concerned, of German origin. Four men have advanced their claims to originality in this matter. The first of these was Laurens Janszoon Coster, of Haarlem, who is thought to have died in the year 1440. The second was Johann or Henne Gutenberg, of Mainz. The third was Johann Faust (or Fust, as it is sometimes spelled), also of Mainz; and the fourth was Peter Schoeffer, the son-in-law of Faust. Gutenberg died in 1468, Faust in 1466, and Schoeffer in 1502. It was by these four men that the invention was gradually evolved and brought to a tolerable state of practical usefulness. Nor will the reader fail to note the almost perfect identity of the period covered by their lives with the Columbian epoch.

Essence of typography proper

List of the printing primates

Evolution of paper

It is not intended to demonstrate any immediate connection between the invention of the printing art and the discovery of America. We are here endeavoring to elucidate the epoch, to show the contemporaneity of events, and that the whole movement of the age was common in every part towards the New Era which was so rapidly preparing for the benefit and elevation of mankind.

One of the circumstances which retarded not a little the invention of printing, or at any rate obstructed its useful application, was the slow evolution of paper. The types waited for paper. It appears that the manufacture of this great staple of human intelligence began about the close of the fourteenth century; but the material produced in the earlier stages was so coarse in quality and imperfect in every particular as to be of little value. In the course of the fifteenth century, however, the texture was greatly improved. The surface and the water-marks became elegant as compared with what had gone before. It was on such paper that block-printing was first practiced, and before the close of the century had superseded the vellum formerly in use.

Vellum

At the time of Columbus, and of the invention of metallic types, there was a brief period when books of vellum and paper mixed, the vellum constituting the outside and the paper the inside portions, were produced. But the paper was soon so greatly improved that the vellum was discarded. At the time of the invention of movable types, we

may note the very same confusion and embarrassment with respect to materials that we have seen in our own day regarding the phonograph and the electric light by incandescence.

In so far as we are acquainted with the circumstances attending the invention of the art preservative of arts, they were much as follows: About the year 1436 Johann Gutenberg was a printer at Strasburg. How he began has not been well ascertained; but two years after the date just named he had a press and movable types, wherewith he did printing in the manner of after times. It appears that he dragged on in obscurity until the year 1450, when, being then at Mainz, he formed a partnership with Johann Faust, who was a wealthy citizen of that place. Five years afterwards the partnership was broken, and Faust possessed himself of the materials of the establishment. But it is doubtful whether he was a practical artisan as was Gutenberg; for Faust was obliged to form a new partnership with Peter Schoeffer, his son-in-law, who had learned the printing business. Gutenberg, as is claimed by his admirers, after breaking with Faust, made a new establishment for himself, and continued his work in practical typography until about 1465. Impressions from his presses still exist, and we are perhaps not far from a correct judgment in awarding him the high praise due to the inventor of printing.

Gutenberg

Faust and Schoeffer

The student of history will hardly need to be reminded that the inventors of the Middle Ages

were not protected in the products of their genius, as are they of modern times. As a consequence, secrecy was substituted for patent right. Society, when unwilling to concede and defend the rights of its inventors, is requited by their withholding the knowledge of the thing invented from the public. The first printers, as a consequence of this condition, were brought into a strait place about their invention and its products. Everything had to be done with the strictest precaution against publicity. To divulge the secret was to give it away, together with a large part of the advantage arising from its possession. The printing offices in Mainz were guarded with the greatest secrecy, lest the uninitiated might enter and divulge the story of the wonderful processes going on within.

Secrecy foreruns patent right

In the course of time the curiosity, and then the hostility, of the public were excited by the existence of establishments capable of producing such marvelous results. At length, in 1462, Adolph of Nassau laid siege to the city of Mainz, and the place was taken. One of the results of the capture was the spoliation of the printing houses. The soldiers of Adolph burst in, broke the presses, threw out the types, and sent the printers flying in all directions. For the moment it appeared that the art of typography might perish in the common destruction.

Seclusion and spoliation of Mainz offices

It is not, however, in the nature of things that such an art should end by mere disaster. The printers of Mainz, expelled from their own place,

went into foreign lands, taking their knowledge with them. They became the evangelists of that which is doubtless the most beneficent art ever known to mankind. Within three years after the destruction of the German presses, the first printing establishment was founded at Subiaco in Italy. In 1469 a press was established in Rome, and in the following year the first Italian book was produced by the new method. In the same year with the first setting up of the Roman presses, the new art was introduced into Paris, Milan, and Venice. In 1474 Caxton began the work at Westminster in England, and in the next year a press was established at Barcelona in Spain. Within two decades from the time of the destruction of the Mainz printing-houses, the art had been carried into most of the principal cities of Europe; and by the close of the century, it was estimated that fully two hundred printing offices were in operation.

Expelled printers diffuse the art

Art brought to England by Caxton

In this rapid spread of a great invention, we may discover at least one striking circumstance in the character of the new society of Europe. Isolation was ended. The era of intercommunication had begun. It may well remind one of the expeditious methods of modern times, to note the rapid spread of the printing art through the kingdoms of the West. Cities were no longer segregated from each other as in the earlier Middle Ages. Intelligence flew hither and yon by effective post-routes. Travel carried the enterprising citizens of one state across the borders of many

Printing ends isolation

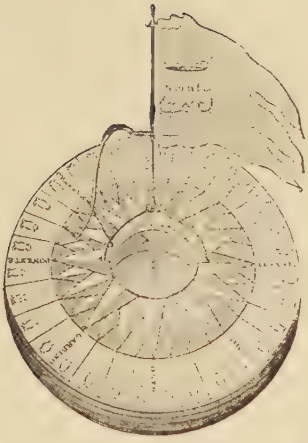
states, and the knowledge and arts of the more intelligent communities were rapidly diffused into all. The combined effect of all these agencies was to quicken in an unprecedented degree the intellectual energies of the people. The mind became as bold as it was active, as eager to undertake new enterprises as it was quick to discover the new conditions of the age.

Printing causes new intellectual activity

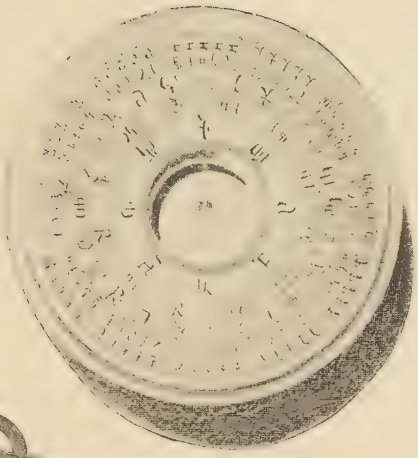
The art of printing was at once cause and effect. It was cause of the greater intellectual activities of the century to come. It was the effect of already awakened energies of the century gone by. Indeed, as is the case with all great inventions, this answered to the demand of the period, and was no more than the embodied necessity of the epoch.

Relieves mental pressure

It requires an effort of the mind to take the true view of these incidental marks and evidences of the progress of mankind. The discovery and application of typography was no more than the answer which the human genius gave to a requirement already existing in society. Men could no longer go forward with their enlarged and enlarging enterprises *without* the agency and assistance of the printing-press. The oscillation of thought had become so rapid that some new means of relieving the mental pressure of the age had to be discovered, under the necessity of the conditions. The crisis was not far different from that of our own age, in which the old methods of recording human speech are too slow to suffice any longer for the wants of the nineteenth century. So the

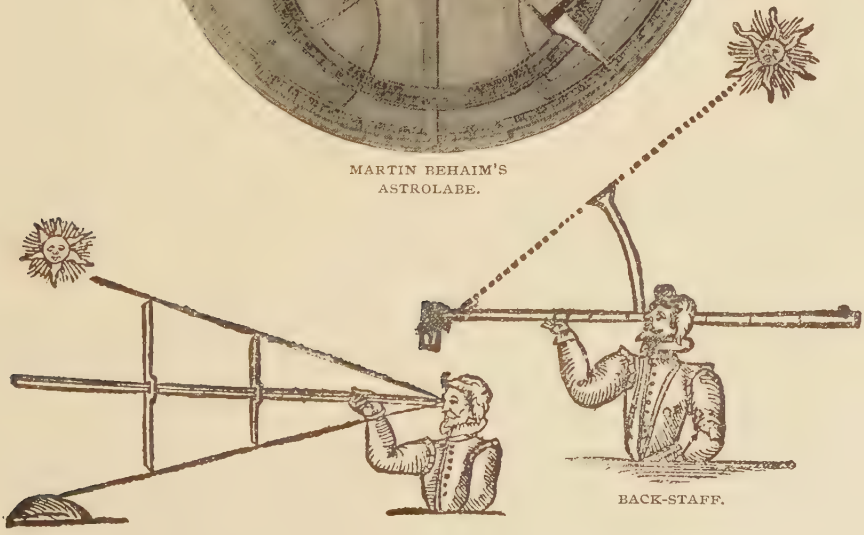


EARLY EUROPEAN COMPASS.



CHINESE COMPASS.

MARTIN BEHAIM'S ASTROLABE.



CROSS-STAFF OR JACOB'S STAFF.

BACK-STAFF.

MEDIÆVAL IMPLEMENTS OF NAVIGATION.

fifteenth century demanded printing, and the printing came.

One other circumstance should be noted before we pass from the subject, and that is the immediate effect of the new art and its practice on the old forms of intellingence. They were all shaken by the thing done. Scholasticism was frightened. That type of mind which had been satisfied with the jargon of the Middle Ages felt itself disturbed and insulted by a process which seemed to multiply as well as distribute human thought by mechanical contrivance. It was once pronounced diabolical; and it was only when it was discovered —as it was at a very early date—that typography might be made the useful servant of religion, in the multiplication of religious books, that the result was accepted as innocent and useful.

Effects on old forms of intelligence

We may pass in the next place to consider the invention of THE MARINER'S COMPASS. The origin of this instrument, so essential to navigation, so interwoven as it is with the whole history of adventure and exploration, is even more obscure than that of the art of printing. Tradition, assigns the invention, or discovery, to the Chinese, by whom it is said to have been in use, at least in a rudimentary form, at a very remote period. It is certain that the old nations of the Orient were acquainted with the loadstone; and we may well believe the story which has been handed down, that the ancient Chinese learned to discover the directions of north, south, east, and west, or what we may call the general lay of

The compass

the earth and heavens, by attaching a piece of magnetic iron to cork and floating it on the surface of water. In such a situation, the magnetic part would be free to adjust itself to the lines of polarity. No doubt this was the primary form of the instrument which has been so highly developed in modern times.

Transmission to the West

It is not known at what period the knowledge of the compass was transmitted from the Eastern to the Western nations. In general, the time at which this occurred was coincident with the Crusades. The thing in question was one of those forms of knowledge which were brought back either directly or consequentially, by the Crusaders or by the travelers who succeeded them. Rumor and tradition of such an instrument reached the mind of the West in the days of its first quickening, and it is in evidence that as early as the thirteenth century some information on the subject had reached Europe, though perhaps not in a form to embody.

First knowledge of it in England

Oddly enough, it appears that the Norwegians were among the first to begin to avail themselves of the magnetic principle in navigation and travel. There are some grounds to believe that as early as 1266, twenty-five years before the capture of Acre by the Moslems and the close of the Holy Wars, the compass was known in Norway. It is not certain, however, that the Norwegians were acquainted with the instrument itself. The Scottish poet John Barbour, writing in 1375, speaks of King Robert's having crossed from Arran to

Carrick, in 1306, by the light of a fire on the shore, saying of him that he

"Na nedill had na stane."

But this is doubtless an anachronism. The poet perhaps attributed to the king something of which the age was incapable, but of which he himself had heard by rumor. Again, common report has assigned the European invention of the compass —that is, of the magnetized needle—to Flavio Gioja of Amalfi, and has named the year 1307 as the date of the invention. Modern inquiry has, however, rejected rather than accepted the story of such invention, agreeing with Barlowe that "the lame tale of one Flavius at Amelphus, in the kingdom of Naples, for to have devised it [the compass] is of very slender probabilitie."

Invention of the compass

Another tradition assigns its introduction into Europe to Marco Polo, who is said to have brought it, or at least the knowledge of it, into Italy about the year 1295. This would be four years after the conclusion of the Crusades. But this story has also been doubted in recent times, or even positively rejected, as it is by Yule in his *Book of Ser Marco Polo,* who says: "Respecting the mariner's compass and gunpowder I shall say nothing, as no one now, I believe, imagines Marco to have had anything to do with their introduction."

Not brought to Italy by Marco Polo

The latest information seems to accredit the first European use of the compass to the Spanish Arabs of the Caliphate of Cordova.

When we come to the fifteenth century, the evidences of the knowledge and use of the compass among the Western nations begin to multiply. An old poem of the early part of this century entitled the *Libel of English Policie* has a paragraph which Hakluyt has preserved as follows:—

> "Out of Bristowe and Costes many a one
> Men have practiced *by nedle and by stone*
> Thider wards within a little while."

First mention of compass in English

The use of the words "by nedle and by stone" in this connection would imply that even at this date, the compass as an instrument was in a very rudimentary stage of its evolution. As late as 1616 it is declared by an old English author that "the compasse needle, being the most admirable and most useful instrument of the whole world, is both amongst ours and other nations for the most part so bungerly and absurdly contrived as nothing more."

In tracing the progress of the compass from the mere magnetic principle and polarity of the loadstone to the complete production of the modern instrument, we pass through several stages; and these stages were reached at different times and in different countries. It was in the early part of the fourteenth century that the invention was brought to such a state of completeness as to make the instrument available for purposes of extensive navigation.

Perhaps no other increment of knowledge ever so much emboldened the human mind in its disposition to tempt the ocean as did the mariner's

compass. Hitherto the navigator had been dependent upon the aspect of the heavens for the determination of his course. Certainly that aspect was sufficient, if well considered in clear weather, to furnish the knowledge requisite to navigators. But it was in times of cloud and darkness that the seaman of the Middle Ages was first confused and then terrified by the uncertainty of his place and his course. It was precisely under such conditions that a knowledge of the points of the compass and of the direction in which the vessel was driven was most demanded. In fair weather such a guide as the compass might almost be spared from the equipment of a ship. But when darkness, fog, and cloud rested on the deep, then the instrument seemed a very *sine qua non* of progress and safety.

Importance in navigation

Previous to the introduction of the compass, sailors, besides the knowledge which they had of coasts and of the heavens above them, had been obliged to rely upon such clumsy contrivances as the astrolabe and the sextant. The name of the former instrument is derived from the two Greek words *aster,* a star, and *lambanein,* to take. The sense of the thing was that the sailor on the deep was obliged "to take the star," that is, to determine the position of a star, or stars, thereby deducing his own position and course on the sea.

Old astrolabe and sextant

The character, or rather the method, of the astrolabe has not been well determined. It seems to have been a sort of armillary sphere. It was supplied with a graduated ring, having openings,

notches, or "sights" through which the observer might determine the altitude of any object at sea. It depended for its successful use on clear weather. In times when the stars or greater planets were invisible, the instrument could not be employed, particularly at sea.

The astrolabe

It was the wont of travelers, as well as voyagers on the ocean, to carry the astrolabe for determining their whereabouts in latitude and longitude. The Frenchman who calls himself "John Mandeville" writes, in 1356, as follows: "For I have been toward the parties of Braban and beholden the astrolabre that the sterre that is clept the Transmontayne is 53 Degrees highe. And more forthere in Almayne and Bewme it hathe 58 Degrees. And more forthe toward the parties septemtrioneles it is 62 Degrees of heghte, and certeyn Mynutes. For I my self have mesured it by the astrolabre."

In course of time and not far from the age we are here considering, the astrolabe gave place to the quadrant and the sextant. The latter of these instruments, as is well known, has survived to the present time as an important piece of furniture for the navigator. Its form and uses are so well understood as to require no description. Nor need we discuss the origin of the instrument or the stages of its development. It is sufficient to note that not the astrolabe, not the quadrant, not the sextant, not any instrument which depends for its use upon the visibility of objects in the heavens or indeed on the earth, can by any possibility

Superiority of compass to quadrant

supply the place of the compass. To the latter, darkness and cloud and storm and unknown seas are as nothing. It keeps its uneven but calculable direction as faithfully when the ocean is covered with fog, and when tempests bellow around, as when the ship pursues its course under cloudless skies, with the sun above by day or the star-vault spanning the night.

The compass and discovery of New World

The applicability of the mariner's compass in navigating the seas out of sight of the land became generally recognized in the Columbian era. It was one of the most significant circumstances of the many which marked that age of progress and promise. The compass was itself the hint—one might almost say the demonstration—of the New World. It was with his eyes upon the face of this silent but expressive index that the man of Genoa was destined to go forth confidently on the breast of the Western waters. Doubtless the New World would have been *ultimately* revealed without the aid of the compass; but that the event would have been postponed to much later ages without such a guide is certain.

Mediæval vs. modern invention

Great was the difference of the effect of a discovery in nature, or of an invention applying nature's laws, in the fifteenth century and the corresponding fact in our own time. We have at length reached a stage in scientific knowledge where the imponderable forces which govern the natural world are to a great extent understood. These imponderables are but slightly appreciable by the senses with which man is endowed. On the

contrary, they are discerned only by the intellect, the imagination, and the reason. Such agents as heat, light, and electricity are no longer inscrutable, but are considered as the common and easily accessible subjects of physical inquiry. The people of civilized countries no longer perceive only the phenomena of nature. They discern her laws, and understand the hidden forces by which phenomena are produced. Just in proportion as this knowledge and understanding of the hidden imponderable energies of the natural world are extended, just to that degree does superstition disappear.

Phenomena vs. laws

At the Columbian epoch the human mind still stood in the presence of phenomena only. The visible and appreciable aspects of things were apprehended; but the invisible force remained as much a mystery as ever before. Phenomenal results were attained; but the laws by which they were reached were not understood. The occult and bottom principle by which phenomena were produced was still remanded to the realm of spiritual agency.

As a consequence of this condition of intelligence, it happened that when a new discovery was made, or any new invention brought forth, which depended for its efficiency upon the operation of occult forces, the mind was struck dumb by the result. In such an age people would gather around an invention such as the mariner's compass, and watch its operation as though it were the work of magic. It was generally conceived

Mediæval fears of invention

as pervaded and moved by the principle of life. Any instrument of the kind would be regarded as a living thing, mysterious in the last degree. People would fear it as if it were the product of diabolical agency, and long familiarity would be required to reconcile the mind to the naturalness and innocency of such an apparatus. The general result would be, that a discovery or invention of the barbarous or half-enlightened age would produce a much more marvelous effect upon the mind of the epoch, and at the same time would be accepted and turned to advantage much more slowly, than in a time of enlightenment and intellectual expansion.

Comparison with modern psychic phenomena

It is difficult to apprehend the difference of age and situation here referred to. The fifteenth century stood to the physical conditions of the natural world, in the same relation now held by the latter half of the nineteenth toward the so-called psychic phenomena of modern times. We have in the present age a vast number of alleged facts which seem to fall beyond the limits of purely physical agency. It is not here that we would discuss the verity of the facts and phenomena referred to. Let us assume that verity for the nonce. How does the mind of our epoch stand with respect thereto? What view does it take of the alleged facts of spiritism and psychic force? The intellect looks upon such things in almost identically the same mood as that of the fifteenth-century mind respecting physical discovery and invention. It fears them. The modern

seance is very like a scene that might have been witnessed in many parts of Europe at the Columbian epoch, when groups of half-enlightened folk were wont to gather around some instrument or toy which depended for its operation upon one of the imponderable forces of nature. At that time so natural an apparatus as the steam engine would have been regarded with the same awe, the same distrust, the same superstitious respect, the same suspicion of diabolical or spirit agency, as the modern believer has when watching the wonders of table-tipping, the levitation of the human body, concerts mysteriously delivered in the dusk-light of a cabinet, or the marvels of hypnotism.

Mystery the basis of superstition

These considerations are here presented, to the end that the reader may readily perceive or imagine the general effect of discovery and invention in the later Middle Ages. By reflecting upon the conditions then present in the mental world, he may discern many things hitherto inappreciable and hidden from his understanding. The opposition of the clerical classes, for instance, to all progress involving new interpretations of natural law and new applications of force, may be readily understood when we reflect that such things must be regarded in such an age as an intermeddling of the human mind with the unseen and spirit worlds. To such a being as a priest, whose knowledge is necessarily derived from the past, any new construction of the scheme of nature must always appear dangerous, if not diabolical.

Why clerical classes fear invention

Notwithstanding its obscure and labored evolution, the mariner's compass was at length brought to a condition of tolerable efficiency. It became available as a guide on the high sea, and passed into the general use of navigators.

The ship, sailing under a cloudy sky and out of sight of land, was no longer at the mercy of the winds and waves. It is perhaps impossible for the people of to-day to appreciate how greatly the mind of the navigator was emboldened by the possession of his new-found compass. Courage came with the event. The mariner began to feel that he might adventure far, and the suggestion arose in his mind that even should he fail to find an anchorage on distant and unknown shores, he might nevertheless return in safety. He began to feel a confidence (to which he had hitherto been a stranger) that the hazardous conditions of seafaring were indeed subject to fixed laws, which he might understand and of which he might avail himself in extending his knowledge of the ocean and its boundaries. This feeling of confidence was matured during the first half of the fifteenth century, so that by the middle of the Columbian epoch the compass was relied upon with a large measure of faith by the sailors of Christendom.

Compass emboldens navigators

While these interesting but tedious processes of civilization were taking place, another fact appeared which added marvelously to the resources of the age. This was the discovery or invention of GUNPOWDER. The event, like its correlated facts, came with a long antecedent history.

Perhaps there is no other single instance of so slow and so varied a discovery of a new element of progress and power as that which is afforded by the invention of gunpowder. The process covered long centuries of time and continents of space. At the very outset we must distinguish two very different compounds: first, simple explosives, in which the force exerted is coincident with the sudden liberation of gases, with the accompanying circumstances of disruption and heat; second, those propulsive and confined explosives which are intended to project solid bodies to a distance, and to accomplish a working result by the momentum of projectiles. The latter class of agents are of much more recent origin than the former; but it might be difficult to determine precisely in what way, or at what time, explosives proper were transformed into propulsive agents of destruction.

Slow evolution of gunpowder

As already intimated, the history of gunpowder carries us at once to the beginnings of modern history, if not indeed to remote antiquity. It has been customary to refer the invention of gunpowder, as of so much else, to the Chinese; partly because, like the resting of the Earth upon the turtle's back, it transfers a difficult problem one step farther back. The Chinese themselves, however, have a tradition that about the year 80 of our era they obtained a knowledge of gunpowder from India.

Remote origin of explosives

There are many references in classical literature which can hardly be understood without

adopting the theory that the great nations of Southern Europe were acquainted with explosive compounds, with the methods of manufacturing them, and with their uses in both war and peace. We have in the Sixth Book of the Æneid the story of Salmoneus, king of Elis, who for his audacity in attempting to imitate the thunder and lightning of the skies was destroyed by Jupiter. In what other way one might imitate thunder and lightning except by discharging explosives, it were difficult to imagine. There is an intimation of a similar occurrence in the Odyssey; and Dion Cassius (155-230 A. D.) declares in his sketch of Caligula, that that sovereign had machines which imitated thunder and lightning and hurled stones! Philostratus, who flourished in the first half of the third century A. D., has preserved an account of an Indian race between the Hyphasis and the Ganges, whose country Alexander the Great was unable to conquer because of the striking means of defense employed by the inhabitants. The story runs thus: "Their cities he could never have taken, though he had led a thousand as brave as Achilles or three thousand such as Ajax to the assault; for they [the inhabitants] come not out to the field to fight those who attack them, but these holy men, beloved by the gods, overthrow their enemies with tempests and thunderbolts shot from their walls."

Classical references

One of the earliest practical applications of explosives in war was the use of the so-called Greek fire. This compound is said to have been

Greek fire

introduced at Byzantium, by Callinicus of Heliopolis, in the year 668. The substance was thought to be a mixture of resin and petroleum, constituting a solid compound which might be hurled from a wall or shot from tubes to a considerable distance. It is believed that the principle of the rocket was made available in the discharge of Greek fire at the enemy. It may be, however, that the propulsive force was the ballista. Doubtless the name of the material was a generic term designating many kinds of combustible mixtures.

Greek fire

It is of record that at the siege of Mecca by Hajjaj, in the year 690, an explosive compound was used; and some authors have held this to have been gunpowder. But it was more probably Greek fire in some of its forms. The story goes that the Emperor Leo V., employed, about the year 811, some sort of hand-guns, to which authorities have given the somewhat anachronistic name of fire-arms. A manuscript of a Greek author, Marcus Gracchus, has been preserved of the date of 846, in which an explosive mixture very similar to gunpowder is described; being a compound of one part of sulphur, two parts of charcoal, and six parts of saltpetre. There is a tradition that Solomon, king of Hungary, about the year 1078, bombarded the city of Belgrade with engines known as cannon. In the latter part of the same century, Greek fire was used in several naval battles in the Mediterranean. During the Crusades the Saracens employed the same compound in their battles with the Christians.

Earliest uses

Jean de Joinville, who was himself a Crusader (1284-54), has left on record a rather significant account of the manner in which Greek fire was used. He says: "It was thrown from a petrary [catapult], and came forward as large as a barrel of verjuice [vinegar], with a tail of fire as big as a great sword, making a noise like thunder, and seeming like a dragon flying in the air; the light it gave out from the great quantity of fire rendered the camp as bright as day; and such was the terror it occasioned among the commanders in the army of St. Louis, that Gautier de Cariel, an experienced and valiant knight, advised that as often as it was thrown they should prostrate themselves upon their elbows and knees, and beseech the Lord to deliver them from that danger against which He alone could protect them."

Apocryphal mediæval references

After the Crusading epoch, references to explosives in war are multiplied in the writings of the times. For a while, however, a strong religious prejudice existed in the West against the introduction of the new agent. The Western conscience, long accustomed to the good old-fashioned methods of human butchery with sword and spear and battle-axe, could not relish a method of destruction against which mere strength and brute courage could not prevail. It is at once amusing and instructive to observe the attitude of a half-barbarian when he is confronted with some new natural agent which he does not understand, and which he must consequently fear. The man of the Middle Ages had the same reasons

Prejudice against gunpowder

for standing off from the rude explosives which the science of that age had been able to produce, as the men of to-day have for dreading a can of dynamite.

The invention of gunpowder, properly so called, has been variously referred to different men in different countries. There are reasons to think that the germ of the discovery is to be found on the plains of India and China. In those countries saltpetre is a natural product, and in many parts the soil is so much intermixed with it that decrepitation would take place whenever earth was thrown into the fire. From this to the discovery of the higher explosive qualities in the mixture of saltpetre and charcoal is but a step, though a long and probably accidental step; and the completion of the compound by the addition of sulphur might well be an accident of every-day life. In the Middle Ages saltpetre was known as "Chinese snow," and the exportation of this material, still mixed with the soil, began many centuries ago.

Beginnings in India and China

The knowledge, or at least an account, of gunpowder was brought into the West by the Arabs in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. At the siege of Baza by Ismail Ben Feraz, king of Granada, in the year 1325, gunpowder was employed in the discharge of missiles. The spectacle has been described by Condé in his "History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain," as follows: "Some [machines there are] that cast globes of fire, with resounding thunders and lightnings

And in Spain

resembling those of the resistless tempest; all these missiles caused fearful injuries to the walls and towers of the city."

Already before this time veritable gunpowder had been produced in France and Italy and England. In the last-named country, Roger Bacon, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, had produced by chemical analysis and combination his explosive compound, which caused so great consternation among the conservatives of his time, and came so near costing him his life. His own writings describe the process, and we may not doubt that he was a true discoverer of the proper elements and method of combination; especially as he left an anagram of the components, though corrupted by copyists.

Roger Bacon invents gunpowder

Meanwhile Albertus Magnus of Cologne (1193-1280) had made a similar discovery by like investigation and experiment. There is, however, a kind of general agreement among authorities that the greater honor of the European discovery belongs to Berthold Schwarz ("the Swarthy"), a German alchemist of Freiburg. He flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and had the reputation of being a true son of the Black Art. That he was a great experimenter in explosive mixtures cannot be doubted. The date of his work in the production of gunpowder is about 1325.

Black Art of Berthold Schwartz

In the following year the council of the city of Florence appointed a commission to superintend the manufacture of brass cannon and iron

balls. About the same time, Edward III. of England began to use cannon in his Scottish wars.

Early use in Europe

John Barbour, under date of 1375, speaks of certain military engines which he calls "crakys of war," no doubt cannon. In the twelfth year of the reign of Edward, namely 1338, a schedule was made of certain military implements and stores at that time kept in the Tower of London, in which enumeration is mentioned *un petit barrell de gonpouder le quart'plein;* that is, "a small barrel of gunpowder a quarter full."

The common story about the use of cannon in the great wars for nationality between England and France, and notably at the battle of Crécy,

Cannon at Crecy

is familiar to students of history. The same engines of destruction were soon in use in the other countries of Europe. Before the middle of the fourteenth century cannon were probably introduced, in the rude forms then known, into France, Italy, and Spain. Petrarch, in his dialogues, composed about 1344, describes great guns as discharging "brazen globes cast forth with a force of flame, with a horrible sound of thunder."

Meanwhile the manufacture of gunpowder was undertaken in many places. The materials of the art, as well as the product, came to be coveted

Gunpowder trade a royal monopoly

by the great kings of Christendom, and many acts of legislation and royal decrees were directed to this important interest. Henry V. of England, in 1414, issued a mandate that no gunpowder should be exported from the kingdom without a

royal license. From this time forth the use of the explosive in gunnery and for other purposes became common, and the method of manufacture was improved by new inventions.

Invention conducive to progress

On a superficial view of the question, it may not readily appear in what manner the invention of gunpowder conduced to the transformation of society and the bringing in of a new era. But a careful view of the subject will soon show the bearings of the discovery. Gunpowder was the sign of the end of chivalry. The epoch of that romantic mediæval warfare which had prevailed for several centuries was terminated with the discharge of the first musket. Hitherto the potency of armies in the field had depended upon the individual courage, strength, and skill of the warriors. Men combated with men as in private battle, but on a larger scale. Under such circumstances it was man to man, horse to horse, and sword to sword. There was no multiplication of power. There was no means by which a smaller company of soldiers might overcome a greater. War was not so much a question of discipline, of art, of strategy, as of direct personal prowess and daring.

Mediæval warfare produces chivalry

Under such circumstances chivalry rose and flourished. Knighthood became the most popular institution of Christendom. Gallantry in the field and in all manner of adventure prevailed. The longest lance would soonest touch the enemy. The strongest arm effected the greatest havoc. The heaviest sword cut the widest swath. The strongest helmet best resisted the blows of the

foeman's battle-axe. Armor profited him who wore it. The knight clad himself cap-à-pie in steel, and went forth to battle. Society formed itself around these conditions. It was a chivalric age. War was glorious because knighthood, valor, and courtesy were exalted by the sentiments with which it was undertaken.

Knighthood goes down before musket

To all this, gunpowder and the introduction of the murderous musket and roaring cannon put a sudden and final end. Of what avail was the best armor in a shower of leaden and iron balls? Against such missiles how could a knight, even the greatest knight of Christendom, defend himself any more than the vulgarest boor? Hitherto it had been the method and the pride of battle for every soldier to put himself boldly in the foeman's way and dash him down in the encounter. Now, with the intervention of this diabolical explosive, the methods of war required the most valiant chivalry to hide itself and lie low from the blaze of the enemy's guns. We may readily apprehend the horror and disgust of the soldiers of Christendom when they were at length brought face to face with a musket-bearing enemy, firing at them from a distance and knocking them from their horses, with bloody holes in their sides and with no hope of coming to actual encounter with the foe. Under such a condition the dullest half-clad peasant could be taught in a day to pull a trigger, thereby making himself more than the equal of the greatest knight in all Europe. Still more, the knight's armor cost a fortune, and the wearers

Disgust at the new destructive agent

MEDIÆVAL ARMOR.

could only be a small aristocracy; the hackbut was cheap, and great masses could have them.

Old-time romance of war blown away

Of course knighthood, chivalry, romantic notions of battle, and all the glamour of mediæval warfare gave way before the new agents of destruction. At the same time the isolated power of the individual soldier went down before the principle of aggregation. The strength of an army came at once to depend upon its compactness, discipline, and unity of action, instead of the rampant courage of lawless bands under favorite chieftains, scurrying around the battlefield. In so far as war was one of the bottom facts of society, the whole was transformed into a new mood and a new aspect. It was another of those great forces by which the unification of modern Europe was effected, and the segregations and individualities of mediæval Europe abolished.

Philosophy of the situation

Intolerable humiliation of knighthood

The Columbian epoch was coincident with the striking episode of human progress which we have just described. More precisely, the crisis of new-world discovery followed with promptness in the wake of the transformation of society that came with the change in the methods and results of warfare. Certainly, the great warriors of Christendom, hitherto battling in the knightly manner, —hitherto wearing armor, wielding battle-axes, and glaring through the eyeholes of their visors at the foemen not ten yards away,—would not readily relinquish the old habit and put on the new. How could such fighters subside into the common? How could feudalism agree to join the cohort of

democracy? How could proud knights consent to march side by side with clumsy peasants and unkempt villeins carrying rude muskets, priming powder-pans, pulling triggers, and discharging balls of lead at an enemy so far away that neither countenance nor weapon could be seen with the eye? The situation was intolerable to knighthood, and knighthood would not endure the humiliation.

In such a condition, human nature must needs find a vent for its old habit in some *new field* where the disciplined passions of the past may find vent and exercise. The warriors of Western Europe demanded some vast adventure as a substitute for the old activity and pride. If chivalric battle could no longer be waged with *men,* then must it be a battle with the *sea.* If the opportunities for further conflict with Infidels in the East were shut off, what should the descendants of the Crusaders do but turn to the unknown West? Instead of the march across Asia Minor or through the sands of Egypt, the passage of the trackless deep must be essayed. Instead of the battle plains of Syria, the wilderness of the New World must be found and traversed. Instead of the Islamites of the Holy Land, the barbarians of the West Indies and the Three Americas must be challenged to the conflict.

New fields demanded

Nor must the commercial elements of the new adventure be left aside. Europe depended, not indeed for its daily bread, but for almost every luxury beyond mere bread, and even for the relishes to that bread, upon the East. From the East

EARLY MUSKETEER.

came the spices and flavors which were needed to make palatable its hard dry winter food of meal and salted meats and fish. From the East came the perfumes to deaden the stench of its dirty streets and heaps of carrion and unwashed bodies, in an age of filth and unsanitary ignorance. From the East came its rich stuffs, its jewels, its precious metals, its dyes, for the ornament of beauty, the pomp of nobility and royalty, the delight of the eye for the rich and great. But this traffic with the East was interrupted and choked by the Mussulman hordes, who of late centuries had shut up most of the old land routes, and forced it into long and tortuous, costly and dangerous ones; who in fact, about the time of the Reformation, cut off the last of these altogether, bankrupted half Europe, and ultimately ruined the Italian republics. It was first of all to find a sea route to the Indies, and set the stream of its luxuries flowing again more richly than ever before, that Columbus set out upon his journey.

The West needed the East

Such were some of the principal elements of human progress on the continent of Europe in the age preceding the discovery of America. All events spring from their antecedents; nothing that is, comes to pass without an efficient cause or causes just behind it. Out of the intellectual and social conditions of the Europe of the fifteenth century came the mental condition of man prerequisite to the transnavigation of the Atlantic, and the finding of the unknown countries of the West. The mental conditions of the age were

Antecedents of the change

reinforced and supplied by the new arts, which just at that period began to prevail in the European countries. When the flail of Islam fell upon Constantinople, and the learning and artistic resources of the classical ages were sent flying to the West, the force of the new winds of enterprise and hope was not exhausted until the viewless waves had pulsated across the Atlantic and lost themselves in the woods of America.

The discovery an evolution

These forces gathered volume as they ran. The art of printing, the discovery and application of the magnetic needle, the invention of gunpowder by transforming the methods of warfare, and a score of other incipient arts,—combined with the tides of progress and the needs of commerce, and the volume spread across the sea, broke against the islands, reached the shore and pervaded the wilds of the New World. The discovery of America was not an accident in the movement of mankind, but was an evolution out of the conditions pre-existing in the mother continent.

CHAPTER IV.

GEOGRAPHY AND NAVIGATION

One of the most interesting of the minor parts of human history is that which traces the concept, and defines the knowledge, of man with respect to the globe which he inhabits. In ancient times there was the greatest difference between the theory of our planet and the facts of its constitution. Only within the past four centuries have the imperfect views held by the ancients, respecting the figure and general character of the earth, been corrected and reduced to a scientific basis. A diagram representing the progress of geographical knowledge would show the line of that progress approximating more and more to the basis of fact, until the two lines become the single line of scientific truth.

Man's idea of the earth

A remarkable fact in the history of natural science is the rapid development of astronomy as compared with geography. It cannot be doubted that a comparatively correct knowledge of the sun and planetary system, lying against the background of the sidereal heaven, was attained by some ancient races long before the mind of the most illustrious philosopher, anywhere in the world, had gained a correct general idea of the earth and its place in the system to which it

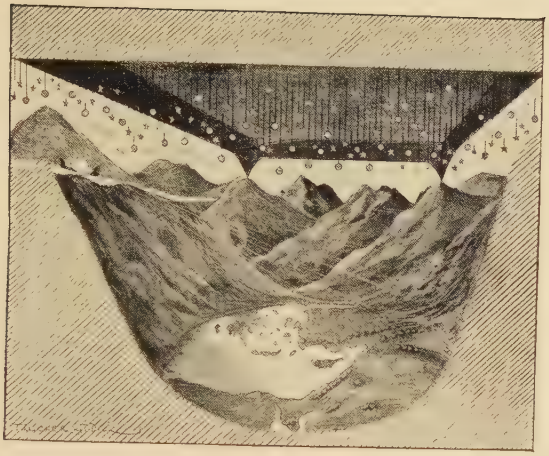
Astronomy precedes geography

belongs. All the great arts which have so strongly contributed to humanizing mankind were likewise brought to a high degree of perfection, before any adequate knowledge was obtained of the sphere on which the earth-life is enacted. Literature had flourished for long ages, before geography had emerged from the region of conjecture and superstition. Architecture in many countries had risen to its perfected form, before the greatest of builders could have defined with even rudimentary accuracy the outline of a single continent or sea. Painting and the plastic arts reached a climax of beauty and ideality, centuries before the greatest geographer could have made an accurate map of even the Mediterranean countries.

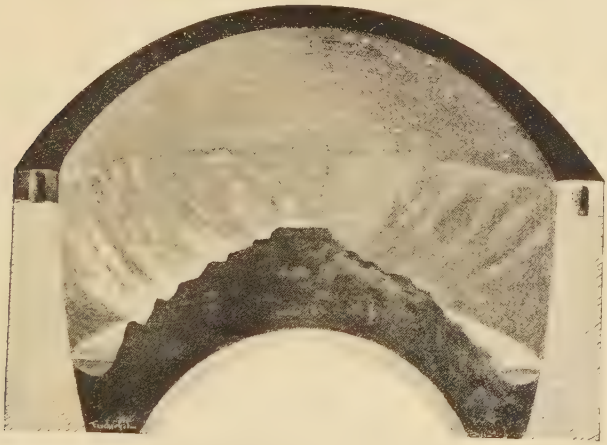
Lateness of geographic science

The men of antiquity looked abroad upon the earth and formed a concept of its character simply by vision—by vision and tradition. The vision indicated a plain spreading out to the horizontal line. Tradition recorded the story of various lands and seas which adventurers were said to have visited and explored. Only a limited portion of the earth's surface was included in the geographical lore of the given age. The Barbarians seemed to concern themselves not at all to obtain a knowledge of any region other than their own forests and shores. The civilized peoples, however, who had risen to race consciousness and made a record of their tribal migrations and historical development, held in their intellectual store some limited knowledge of geographical outlines; the rest was left to conjecture and

Ancient ignorance about the earth



OLD EGYPTIAN IDEA OF THE WORLD.



OLD BABYLONIAN IDEA OF THE WORLD.

ANCIENT CONCEPTIONS OF THE UNIVERSE.

OLD BABYLONIAN MAP OF THE WORLD.

fiction. In the greatest ages, the leading geographers did not hesitate to produce the larger part of their geographical maps with the aid of imagination. Islands and seas were distributed here and there with a recklessness which may well amuse, though it fails to instruct, the student of modern times.

Several vague notions of the character of the earth were thus formed by the men of ancient times. One was that the earth is a flat disc, extending infinitely in all directions to the sky. How *deep* or *thick* the world might be was a question of dispute. Some thought it to be quite thin, so to speak, and to be held up from below by mythological monsters. Others thought the earth to be cylindrical, extending downward without limit. They who held this view avoided the necessity of living creatures to shore up the globe beneath. A few held the belief that the world is cubical—though this hypothesis removed none of the difficulties which beset the other theories.

Vague early ideas of the earth

Most of the ancients were agreed that the land area of the world, lying flat, was surrounded by a vast ocean river; for to them Oceanus was not the big, expanded, outlying seas, which constitute so large a part of the earth's face, but a wide, impassable salt river, flowing around and spreading far to the shores of Tartarus. Beyond this river lay the region of conjecture, stretching on and on till it blended with the descending rim of the sky. This was the favorite view of

Belief in a surrounding ocean

philosophers until the notion of sphericity arose, and finally took the place of the more ignorant and superstitious conception of the world. The great mass of mankind continued to look upon their environment in precisely the manner of a rat, considering his limitations when entrapped in a hemisphere of wire above and board beneath. If the trap with its inhabitant be set afloat on a lake, the analogy would be perfect. To the man of antiquity the sky was a tent-like canopy, which descended all around and rested upon the plain of earth. No man had reached that far horizon where the sky and earth are one. The circle of the heaven was laid upon the surface of the world far beyond the river Oceanus, and therefore it could not be reached; for no man could cross the ocean.

Analogy to animals' notions

In the history of human progress, right thinking always precedes right action. A clear view of the facts under consideration is necessary in all cases before the facts can be classified and the principles underlying them determined. In order to correct the erroneous geographical views of the ancients, men must travel far by land and sea. They must venture into the unknown—and man fears nothing else as he fears the unknown. Travel in the ancient world was difficult to a degree. There were few artificial means by which the ambitious and courageous traveler might go forth on his mission. If it were land exploration, he generally walked. To traverse such a continent as Asia—what a

Fear of the unknown retards progress

work was that for a man on foot! In adventure by sea, the rude water craft of the ancient nations were at the voyager's disposal. But neither were the waters known, nor the countries beyond the waters. As for the ships, they were insufficient for trial. He who landed on a distant shore might well be appalled with the terrors real and imaginary which rose before him. Only the bravest would abide; the less courageous would return to their known and safer sphere.

Frail small craft

It may be confessed that the facts of geography are more difficult to reach and to classify than are those of any other natural science. The dweller in ancient Mesopotamia could sit in his tent-door by night, and study the phenomena of the heavens through the whole terrestrial hemisphere as it revolved overhead. The shepherd lying out on the Chaldean plains, wakefully guarding his sheep, had little else to occupy his mind. And on the morrow night the scene would be repeated. Most of the physical sciences can be demonstrated in a single laboratory. The primary elements of nature and their simpler compounds, such as air and water and the imponderable forces, are evermore at hand. The subject-matter of consideration is free and measureless. But in the case of geography, one or two miles, or mayhap ten miles, of the land or shore or sea is all that the scientist can determine without removal to another station. The surface of the vast globe has to be traversed foot by foot

Geography not knowable in one spot

and league by league, until the whole shall have been visited and measured and mapped.

Moreover, the obstacles are many to the physical progress of man. Only in a few parts can he move freely from place to place. Nature everywhere opposes his advance. She rears mountain walls against him. She lays great rivers across his path. She spreads illimitable deserts, which he may not traverse or enter far save at the peril of his life. She builds tremendous, gloomy forests, matted with copse and thorn and tangled vine, which not even the fierce, strong beasts of the wild can penetrate. She creates jungle and snow. She blinds the traveler's face with storms, and whips him from his course with flashes of tropical heat. In particular does she oppose to his progress the great lake, the deep sea, the seemingly infinite ocean. How can the natural man, who has not yet learned to avail himself of the secret forces of nature, overcome her opposition, traverse the continents, measure the seas, fix the places of the islands, and describe with fidelity the bigness and reality of the earth?

How nature impedes travel

Such were the obstacles that kept the man of antiquity from an adequate knowledge of the globe. He could not acquaint himself with his habitation. He knew that it was partly of land and partly of water; but as to the extent and distribution of these, he could not inform himself, either in person or by the learning and conjecture of others. In such a situation, his only available faculty was imagination; his only real

progress was the accidental enlargement of his knowledge.

It is true, however, that among the ancients there existed here and there a correct theoretical knowledge of the figure of the earth. Such knowledge came demonstrably, in the first place, from astronomical observation. The more learned of the Egyptian astronomers, in the study of eclipses, observed that the shadow of the earth falling athwart the moon was of a conical character—a thing which could not occur except the shadow be cast by a sphere or at least a circular body. It is not doubtful that this fact was the first certain indication to the ancients of the sphericity of our planet.

Ancients knew the earth's shape

It is impossible to state to what extent this true concept of the figure of the earth was diffused among the peoples of the Old World. It is thought to have been held by the more learned of the Babylonian astronomers. Perhaps the Hindus may have caught glimpses of the truth. Among the Greeks it is evident that the spherical character of the earth was *not* recognized as far back as the age of Homer (perhaps tenth century B. C.) or even Hesiod (eighth century B. C.), all of whose references indicate that the prevailing popular belief was held by the bards. To them, as well as the common throng, the earth was spread around the Ægean sea as round the centre. Beyond the earth Homer saw Oceanus, and beyond that the unknown Tartarus upon which the sky rested.

Notions of Pythagoras and others

As early as the sixth century B. C., however, the sphericity of the earth was recognized, first by the masters of the Pythagorean cult. We have the authority of Diogenes Laertius for the statement that Pythagoras himself taught the spherical character of our planet, with the corollary of inhabitants all around the sphere. However this may be, Parmenides, following Pythagoras, clearly enunciated his belief that the earth is round. This doctrine was taught also by Thales and Anaximander. As to the Socratic school, there is uncertainty respecting the opinion of the master, but no doubt respecting that of the pupil. Plato (fourth century B. C.), in the dialogue called *Phædo* makes it clear that the earth was conceived by the Socratic club as a globe; and to this is added a description which indicates the notion of zones or bands around the earth, corresponding with the present divisions according to climate into temperate, torrid, etc. The figure used by the disputants is that of a ball *encircled with bands or strips of colored leather.*

Aristotle's ideas

Next in order is the mighty Aristotle (later fourth century B. C.), who discusses the matter in his usual manner, showing philosophically that the earth is not a flat body like a disc, nor cylindrical as some had supposed, but that it is a sphere. In demonstration of this truth, he adduces the evidence of the conical shadow of the earth; also the natural disposition of matter, such as drops of water, to take the form of the

sphere. The authority of this teacher prevailed with the better class of Greek thinkers who succeeded him, but the notion of sphericity was never popularly diffused.

After Aristotle came such geographical and astronomical authorities as Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, and Ptolemy. By these and the more learned of their followers, the doctrine of the spherical character of the earth became fixed in Greek literature. Out of this literature, the same general idea was transmitted to the Romans in the great age of the Republic and the Empire, and from these in turn it was carried to after-times. From the Greeks it was taken up by the Arabian scholars, and taught at their schools in Cordova, Alexandria, and Bagdad.

Sphericity of earth taught from of old

There was not perhaps any time in the Middle Ages when the sphericity of the earth was not recognized and accepted by some philosopher or taught in some institution of learning, such as the university at Salamanca or that of Bologna. The highest minds recognized the doctrine, in both Europe and in the East; so that our wonder is abated somewhat at the promulgation of the true character of our planet by the early travelers and geographers of the Italian, Spanish, and English races in the fifteenth century. Such lore was really transmitted from the classical ages. The Latin authors, such as Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, and Pliny, attested their conviction that the earth is a sphere. A score of great writers who flourished before the Christian era may be

Belief of Roman literati

enumerated, whose reasonings are on record, respecting not only the figure of the earth, and the distribution of land and water on it, but also with regard to its principal measurements.

The bigness of the earth was often debated, and many approximations to the actual dimensions are recorded. Thus, for example, may be mentioned the vast but not clearly defined estimate given by Plato in the *Phædo*. Aristotle summarized the calculations of his time, and gave the result as 400,000 stadia for the extent of the equatorial line. This would be equivalent, if the short stadium of the Athenians be taken, to 48,000 miles, or about twice the actual circumference. The estimate of Aristotle was reduced by Archimedes to about 36,000 miles. Eratosthenes (third century B. C.), the noted keeper of the Alexandrian library, made a calculation from a truly scientific basis, and reached a result of 30,240 miles, or (if we accept the long Olympic stadium) 28,594 miles. About the middle of the second century, Posidonius of Rhodes made a similar approximation to the truth, his calculation giving as its result 28,800 miles.

Calculation of earth's size

The interesting feature in these tentative efforts of the mathematicians of the early ages was the fact that they came nearer and still more near to the true result. Finally Strabo (age of Augustus, first century A. D.), using the same data, but revising some of the calculations of his predecessors, reached the conclusion that the circumference of the earth measures about 180,000

stadia—that is, 21,600 miles. In this case the philosopher had fallen under the true estimate; but the tendency to reduce the dimensions of the earth was not yet appeased. After the Crusades, the learned opinion, according to "Mandeville," was that the globe was no more than 20,425 miles in circumference.

From this time forth there seems to have been a reaction towards a larger measurement. "Mandeville," commenting on the views of those whom he calls the "olde, wise Astronomeres," says, "I do not reject their estimates; but according to my judgment, saving their reverence, the circumference of the earth is somewhat more than that." The man of learning then goes on with calculations showing that the heavens are divided into twelve signs, and each sign into thirty degrees.

"Mandeville" criticises old astronomers

He then takes the current estimate of a degree as furnished by the astronomers of his own day, the same being 700 furlongs, or 87 miles and 4 furlongs. From this basis he computes the circumference of the earth and reaches a result of 31,500 miles, "aftre Myles of oure Contree." Nor may we fail to note with surprise and admiration that if the current authorities had given him the correct measurement of a degree, he would, according to his plan, have computed the dimensions of the earth with absolute accuracy. The date of his publication was the year 1356. He has no personal authority, but may be taken as representing the current learned opinion of his time.

The next topic in this inquiry relates to actual geography. How much did the ancients by their forth-going know of the countries and seas? The question is somewhat difficult of solution. The Egyptians appear not to have had a very extended knowledge of any shores besides those of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The former they traversed as far west as Spain on the one hand, and Mauritania on the other. Perhaps some of their ships passed beyond the pillars of Hercules. Recent discoveries show that they were far more enterprising in commerce than was formerly supposed.

Actual knowledge of Egyptians

But the Phœnicians were more so. Of all the ancient races, these were the most adventurous by sea. The Greeks became their rivals; but for a long time Phœnicia was mistress of the Mediterranean. Her ships passed easily and courageously into the Atlantic. They visited Great Britain. They coasted both shores of Spain. They found the uncertain Cassiterides, or Tin Islands. Turning southward in the Atlantic, they certainly coasted far down Africa, and perhaps circumnavigated it. In after times the voyages of the Greeks carried them also to all parts of the Mediterranean, and probably to some parts of the Atlantic shore. They added a knowledge of the Euxine, the Caspian, and the Persian Gulf. They traversed the Indian Ocean, and added Baluchistan to the map; having, in the Alexandrian marches, one armament on land and another on the sea.

Phœnician circumnavigation

It was in their land expeditions, however, that the active and energetic Greeks had greatest success in getting a knowledge of the earth. By their excursions they first gathered information about the greater part of Europe. They knew the country as far as Sweden and Norway. They had a correct knowledge of the place of the British isles, and imagined that they knew the position of Atlantis, that fabulous and great island or continent of which Solon got supposed information from the priests of Sais. In the age of Alexander they lifted up the curtain of Asia, marched into the ancient continent, crossing Persia and the Iranian and Indic plateau, till they came to the Indus valley. That river was crossed, but the force of this extraordinary movement was broken with the passage, from the shuddering awe of the soldiers at the gulf of space which was dividing them from home; and the Greeks were glad to return with the visible spoils and intellectual treasures of the East.

Greek travel and its limits

The Alexandrian age almost revolutionized geography. They who were capable of considering the subject intelligently began henceforth with the sphericity of the earth as a basis, and made the problem to be the question of the extent and character of the continents. Had it not been for the overthrow and absorption of the Grecian states by Rome; had it not been for the atrophy of intellectual curiosity under the tyranny of the late emperors; had it not been for the downfall of their empire, and the recurrence of barbarism

Knowledge aborted on the threshold

throughout all the countries of Western Europe, —the problem of transnavigating the Atlantic must have been solved centuries before it was solved by the men of the fifteenth century. But the adverse conditions came; the world was darkened by the barbarian ages. Learning was lost; adventure ceased; and the torpor continued until it was dispelled by Columbus, Cabot, Da Gama, and Magellan.

Ancient maps, etc.

What kind of maps the ancients possessed we know not. If the Alexandrian library had not perished, our information would doubtless be augmented as to the old notions of the continents and seas. We have, however, drawings and pictorial representations reaching far back in their origin to the earlier centuries of the Christian era. By these, the progressive opinion of mankind may be traced with a profound interest. Nor may the simple and erroneous maps and charts of the old ancestors of nations be despised. We shall in the current chapter revert to the cartography of the ancients and of the mediæval geographers showing the evolution of the true concept of our globe.

Circumnavigation impossible in antiquity

Though the philosophers of Egypt and Greece had a tolerably distinct notion of the sphericity of the earth; though they taught this doctrine in their respective schools; though the doctrine was transmitted to the better informed scholars of the Middle Ages,—the suggestion of actual circumnavigation was received with caution and dread. It may be doubted whether any thinker of the classical ages was sufficiently bold to propose an

actual adventure either West or East, with a view to encompassing the earth by land and sea. The situation was embarrassing; for on the north, the frigid zone turned back mankind from progress into those regions where the old world approximates the new. When the western shores of Europe were reached, there lay the Atlantic. When the eastern shores of Asia were found, there spread the Pacific. The geographical connections of land and water could not be ascertained until the two major oceans should be traversed; and to do this was more than the genius of antiquity durst (or indeed could safely) undertake, from the savagery of old races and probable failure of provisions, if no more.

Oceans limit old explorations

In every age thought has been bolder than action. The dream of man is the forecast shadow of the fact. It required the hardships of Feudal Europe, beating long and fiercely on both mind and body, to develop the courage and daring prerequisite for the circumnavigation of the globe. It also required the griefs of an age of political despair to drive man forth to sea; and it required privation of luxuries which had become necessaries of refined or comfortable existence to force men to search for new paths for them. Behind all the adventurers of progress is the whip of calamity, but before are spread the visions and the hopes.

Necessity the mother of adventure

Soon after—aye, even before—the beginning of the exodus of learning from the East, a premonitory revival in the West sent forth many

adventurers, who sought to find out the mystery of the globe. It was about the beginning of the thirteenth century that travel became a profession. Courageous spirits here and there started abroad in the old Greek manner to traverse the Eastern continent. About the same time the Italian navigators of the Mediterranean displayed new daring, and by the employment of improved methods of navigation brought home news from far-off shores and islands. Shipbuilders henceforth displayed greater skill than ever before. Seaworthy vessels were constructed. The compass enabled the mariner to defy the night and the fog. The arming of ships with insignificant cannon, and the use of gunpowder, put into the hands of the adventurers the means of terrorizing all manner of savages and barbarians. How effective the possession of firearms was to the explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we shall see hereafter.

Beginnings of professional travel

To whom the honor of having first proposed the circumnavigation of the globe may belong, is an interesting question, but can have no answer. There was no one such person. In the chapter on Columbus, we shall show that the word "circumnavigation" is almost meaningless on the theories current even in his time. The land was supposed to take up from three-fourths to six-sevenths of the earth's surface. The sea was conceived as a relatively narrow strait separating the ends of this giant mass. This notion goes back to the Christian era. Seneca—doubtless inspired by that wonderful

No one father of circumnavigation

geographer Strabo—says the sea could be crossed in a few days, with favoring winds. To speak of "circumnavigating" the globe by crossing this slender passage, is like circumnavigating North America by crossing the Gulf of Mexico.

If the term be loosely used to mean traveling around the earth by land and sea, as best served, no really learned man doubted its abstract possibility. There was even a tradition in the fourteenth century of one who had done it, which may be found in "Mandeville." The real disbelief was in the possibility of such ships and equipment as the Middle Ages possessed holding out for the voyage. It was on the side of the ship that the mediæval man felt himself too weak for the great endeavor.

Ships, not theories, prevent circumnavigation

This leads us to consider briefly the progress of navigation, which, viewed as a practical art, is one of the most important aspects of the human evolution. The construction of some kind of craft by which to make passage by water was a great achievement of the primitive man. Considering the extent of water surface on the earth; considering the inland lakes lying here and there in all the major continents; considering the rivers and smaller streams which must be forded or remain forever the barriers of man's progress—we may easily perceive the incalculable value of water-vessels, and of a knowledge of the means of propulsion and guidance. All other land animals, or nearly all, take easily to waters of small extent and cross to the other side; but to man, the river,

Progress of the seafaring art

the lake, the sea, is the *ultima thule* of his progress and his dream—until at length he finds some artificial means of passage.

On this side of their intelligence, the faculties of primeval men were urged by the environment into extraordinary endeavor. The desire to get forth to other places over river or over sea made invention necessary. The swimming log was seized, and, by the aid of a pole, the first boatman propelled himself to the farther shore. Then came the dugout and the inflated skins of animals, on which the swimmer might guide his course to considerable distances.

The first great impulse was given to navigation when the Mediterranean was reached, and when civilized cities and states were founded on its borders. In no other part of the world has transmarine progress been so much promoted by natural conditions as in the Mediterranean countries. The almost imperceptible tides; the exemption of a very considerable sea from the more serious storms and tempests; the small transverse diameter of the Mediterranean and its great length from east to west; the easy sailing out of sight, and the equally easy return to shore; the frequent projection of peninsulas and the interspersion of islands,—all these conditions tended powerfully to extend the dominion of man on the waters.

Natural conditions of navigation considered

Hence arose the maritime states of antiquity. Hence sprang the seafaring ambitions of the Mediterranean peoples. Hence came the passion for planting colonies, and for sailing further and still

The maritime nations

further to find better and still better gifts of nature, on shores remoter and still more remote than those visited hitherto. Around the Mediterranean Sea clustered the greater part of the interest of the ancient world. Great kingdoms were established on small tracts of sea-bordering territory, and out of these situations the navigators and merchants went forth to trade and to conquer.

It was a survey of this situation which moved the mind of Byron when, in the character of *Childe Harold,* he said, addressing the Mediterranean—

"Thy shores are empires, changed in all save thee—
Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, what are they?
Thy waters washed them power while they were free,
And many a tyrant since; their shores obey
The stranger, slave, or savage; their decay
Has dried up realms to deserts."

The reader can but mark with wonder the marvelous array of ancient states clustered around the Mediterranean: Egypt, Tyre, Sidon, Phœnicia, the many states of Asia Minor, Ionia, Crete, Greece, Rome, Carthage, and afterwards the Italian republics, Venice, Spain, Portugal, the Moorish kingdoms, and much besides, namable and unnamable, out of the greatness of the past. Mere islands gave forth whole races and sent out fleets. It was within these waters and around these shores that the navigating skill of the Old World reached its climax, and metamorphosed itself into the vast shipbuilding of modern times.

In the waters of Northern and Northwestern Europe, also, seafaring got a tremendous impulse

when the Teutonic races came to the barriers of river and sea. Here the problem was more serious. Here the savage Baltic roared along the shore. Beyond, the North Atlantic, dreadful in storms and breakers, cast up his angry waves and uttered his roar. In this part of the sea-world, the Norsemen, in the early centuries of our era, developed that navigating skill and courage which are still the wonder of the world. Here the pirates and the sea-kings put off from shore in their open boats with the curled-up prows, heavy oars, and unbreakable masts, reckless alike of heaving sea and scowling sky. All of the conditions here hinted at rather than described, were present in the successive ages of history before the discovery of America by men of the white races.

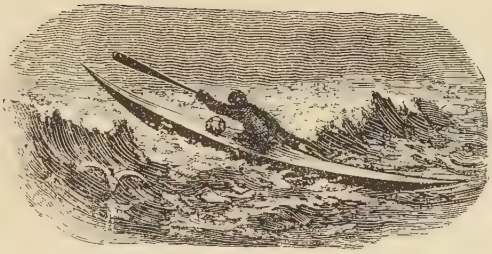
The daring Northern races

A description somewhat in detail of the various water craft, old-fashioned boats and ships, down to the Columbian epoch, could but prove of interest to the reader, even though the description should be no more than a review of knowledge already possessed. In this connection, we present only typical sketches of the various vessels of the Old World, beginning with those of barbarous Asiatics, and proceeding with the more elaborate ships employed by the leading navigators of the Mediterranean nations, including the Viking craft of the Norse and the vessels employed by the adventurers of the Italian cities in the fifteenth century, down to the caravels of Columbus.

Evolution of boats and ships

The first and most natural form of the waterboat was the canoe. This was hollowed by primeval

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN SHIP.
(From Inscription.)



ESKIMO KAYAK.

ANCIENT GREEK COASTING VESSEL.

CARAVELS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

SPECIMENS OF OLD-TIME WATER-CRAFT.

man from the trunk of a single tree; or in other cases was burned out, so as to make a suitable cavity and give buoyancy to the log. Such boats (if boats we may call them) were a part of the earliest invention and wealth of man. Specimens of this kind of work are found mingled with the relics of the Neolithic or New Stone Age. The excavations around the Swiss lakes have revealed canoes which were clearly the product of prehistoric races. The same kind of finds are frequent in the Irish bogs and on the low-lying shores of England.

The first water craft

The invention of the bark canoe came afterwards. This was the favorite form of boat with the North American Indians, as it is still with some of the natives of the South Pacific Islands. The next stage was the joining together of several or many pieces of timber, and the production thereby of a larger canoe, or frame-boat proper. Some of the oldest forms of this variety show the timbers bound together with thongs of rawhide. Some of the African nations and the tribes of the extreme parts of South America still make their boats in this manner.

These beginnings of progress were the antecedents of still better stages. Wooden pegs and nails of metal were at length employed, as they are now employed by the inhabitants of Polynesia. Some of the boats still in use by the tribes of Oceanica correspond almost exactly with those described in the Odyssey. The same culture stage produces the same tools.

The next stage of building introduced a keel of timber, laid lengthwise as if to construct the vertebra of a true boat. From this, the framework was extended outward and upward until the structure was fit for coast service on the sea. Ribs were added, and in course of time a hull proper was built up, and over this was laid a covering of skins, which were the usual protection from the water. This type of boat may be regarded as the ultimate effort of the barbarian life, and the starting-point of shipbuilding proper.

Keels and ribs

Among the civilized nations of antiquity, the Egyptians, though not the greatest navigators, were the earliest builders of what may be called ships. As far back as three thousand years before the Christian era, the subjects of the Pharaohs produced vessels of considerable burden. The oldest type is that of the large rowboat. But to the oars were soon added sails. The two-masted boat came with the Egyptians. The masts were set wide apart at the bottom, but joined at the top, and the triangular space was covered with canvas. The sail and the oar were combined in the same vessel, as was the case with nearly all the ancients at one stage of ship evolution. The Egyptian ships of the earliest age were large enough to take considerable cargoes. Some of them were of sufficient length to require a bank of twenty-six oars on each side, besides those of the steersman. The pattern of the vessel was various. In some instances the two ends rose in curved lines to a sharp point, prow and stern

Egyptians' place among navigators

ornamentation was employed. The lotus was carved or painted at the bow, and the figurehead was generally some sacred bird or beast of Egypt.

The kind of galley here indicated was used during the great ages of Egyptian history, and the same may have been the type from which the boat-builders of Asia Minor and the Greek islands proceeded with their work.

The Phœnicians were the greatest navigators, and probably the greatest shipbuilders, of the ancient world. Specimens of their sea-going craft, or representations of the same, take the reader back nearly a thousand years before the Christian era. One of the earliest forms of Phœnician ship was the bireme, or two-banked war-galley. The lower row of oarsmen sat in the hull in a protected position, but the upper oar was exposed to view above the deck line. There was in this kind of ship a considerable array of details; as, for example, the peculiar beak, the outside gangway, the range of shields along the bulwark, etc. The sailing gear included masts and yards, forestays and backstays, with a double steering-oar or paddle.

Pre-eminence of Phœnicians

Much is wanting to complete our information relative to the shipbuilding of the Phœnicians, and all the nations similarly placed in antiquity. The reason for this is in the unfavorable bearing of the spirit of commerce on literature. The nations of the Old World situated as were Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, the seashore states of Asia Minor, and many others, have virtually left no records

Commercialism unfavorable to history

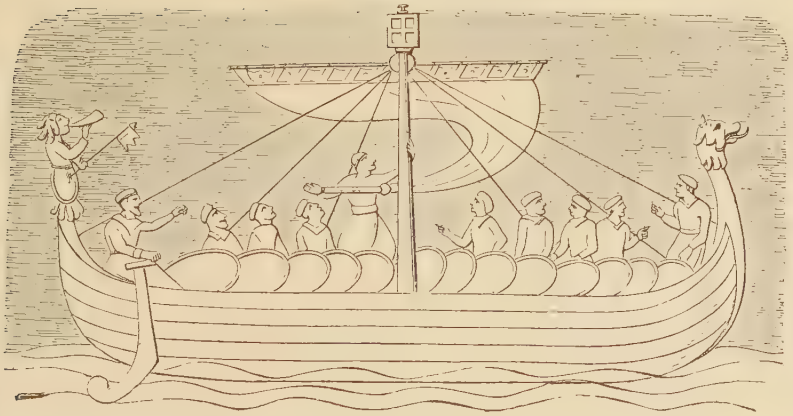
of their own achievements and greatness. In the case of the Phœnician cities, their history is little more than tradition. It is the *producing* peoples of the world, and not the *traders,* who form an idea of their own importance in the human drama, and, acquiring the historical passion, leave records for posterity. The literary age in a nation precedes the age of commerce. When commercialism obtains the upper hand, and patriotism subsides, and the primary industries relapse, the literary passion departs; the truly commercial state forgets itself henceforth in the struggle for wealth and expansion. As the Greeks became the traders of the Mediterranean, their bards, historians, philosophers, and artists—an immortal host—gradually disappeared.

Production rather than trade creates records

As to shipbuilding among the Greeks, we have sufficient notices by contemporary writers. Their first considerable vessels were war-ships. These were propelled by oars, and were manned by crews numbering from fifty to one hundred and twenty men for each vessel. The Greek evolution presented first a ship with a single bank of oars, then the bireme, and then the trireme, or vessel with three banks of oars. The later ships had beaks armed with metal to be driven into the vessels of the enemy. The prow and the stern were elevated, and the figure-head was introduced at an early date. For this purpose some sea-monster, such as the dolphin or the hippogriff, was used. As early as the seventh century B. C., the Greeks were already a sea-fighting nation, having heavy

Greek shipbuilding and navigation

NINTH-CENTURY SHIP.



ELEVENTH-CENTURY NORMAN SHIP.

TYPES OF EARLY MEDIÆVAL SHIPS.

triremes which were invincible in the warfare of the period.

The Carthaginian war-ships, and those of Rome, have been made familiar to modern readers by many illustrations and descriptions. For several centuries the Carthaginians were pre-eminent as builders of war-ships. With them the construction of vessels was an old art, which they brought with them out of Phœnicia. With the Romans the art came at a later period. Not until after the first Punic war did the Romans acquire skill in construction of war vessels, and then only by copying the models of a rival race. The maritime ability of the Romans never compared favorably with their powers as the great conquering and governing state of the ancient world. The commercial ambition did not prevail with the Roman race, but only the ambition of war, of wealth by conquest, and of empire by the sword.

Roman weakness on the sea

One of the strangest metamorphoses in human history is that which shows the reversal of every trait of character peculiar to the Romans, in their descendants the Italians. It might almost be said that the Italians have inherited *nothing* from their ancestors, and have developed everything which their ancestors neglected. This reversal took place when the Roman character was finally transformed in the Middle Ages. After that period, the inartistic Roman became the artistic Italian. The unmusical ancestor was reborn in the most musical of descendants. The laborious, heavy-headed Roman author came again in the light-hearted,

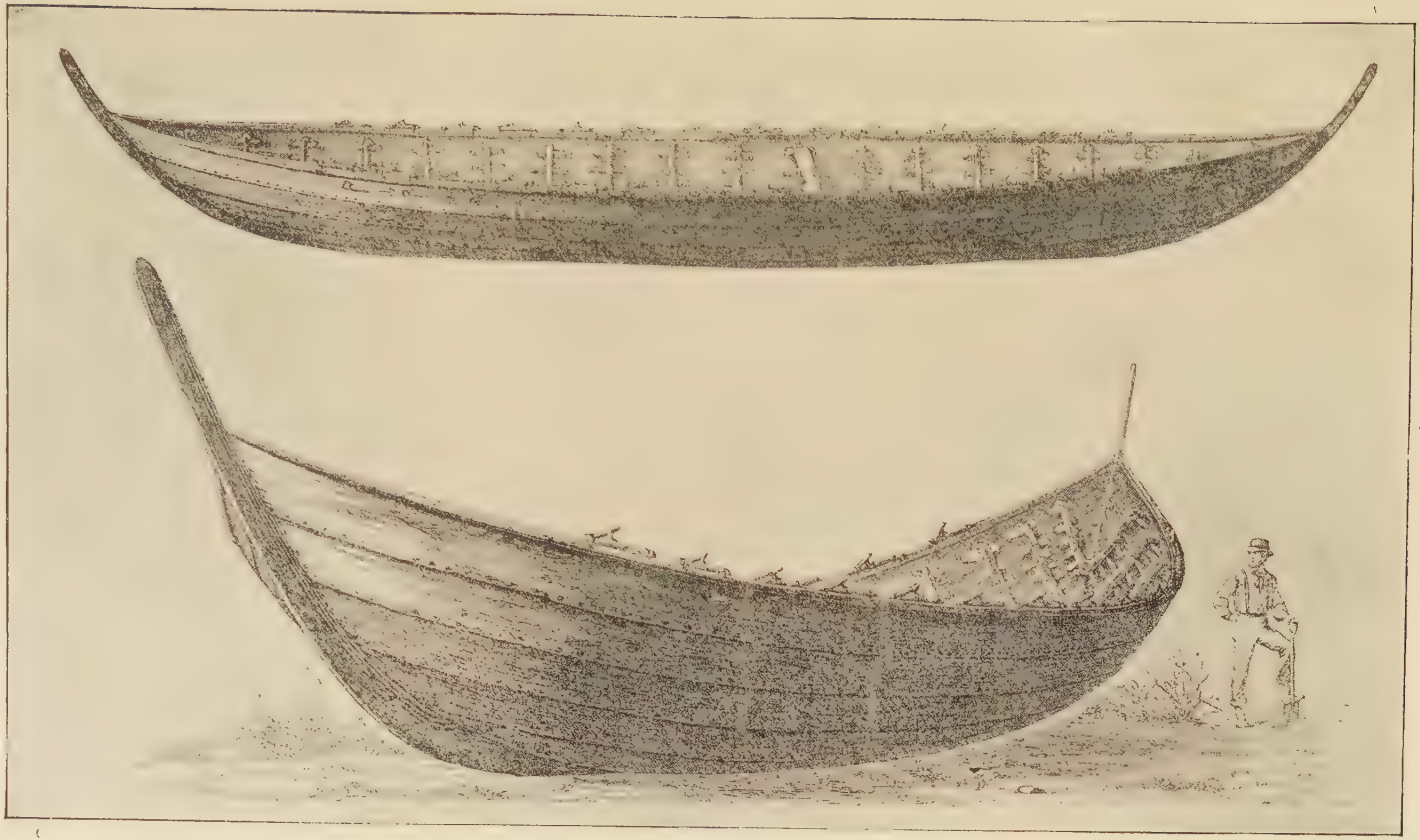
Roman types reversed in Italians

sentimental Italian sonneteer. The great state-builder of the Old World presented as his offspring the architect of local anarchy. The uncommercial Roman returned after the Crusades to become the merchant *par excellence* of the Mediterranean. The poor shipbuilder of the Republic and the Empire left a progeny more skillful than any other in the construction of war vessels and merchant marine. The consolidated capital of the Cæsars did itself disappear, to come again in a multitude of oligarchical and republican cities, in which the spirit of citizenship and adventure was diametrically opposed to the types, ambitions, and methods that prevailed in Rome.

Italy vs. Old Rome

The Italian shipbuilding of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries surpassed that of any other state and people. The ships of Venice, indeed, her salvation since Attila's time, were famous as far back as the Crusading ages. Genoa was a war power on the sea. It might be said that the dominion of Southern Europe at this period depended upon the strongest ships. In the construction of the Italian vessels, both the oar and the sail were used, but the former gradually disappeared and the sailing vessel proper took wing across the sea. In the time of the Holy Wars, the Venetians did the carrying trade between the East and the West. The fleets of the Doges participated powerfully in those wars which culminated in the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, only half a lifetime before the discovery of America.

Old Italian naval supremacy



EXHUMED VIKING GALLEY.

On the whole, the boats and ships of the Mediterranean nations were not subjected to such severe stress and trials as must needs be in the open ocean. It was along the shores of Northwestern Europe that the harder problems of shipcraft must be sought. The people of the Hollow Lands, of the Danish peninsulas, of Norway and Iceland, must confront a sea more inhospitable than that of the south. Boats were accordingly constructed by the Northmen in the early centuries of our era sufficiently strong, and manned by crews sufficiently brave, to enter the warfare of the North Atlantic. These boats and ships were open shallops, strongly built and provided with both sails and oars.

Viking ships

Twice had the famous old Viking ships been exhumed entire, found with a chief. In the year 1889, at Gokstad, Norway, one of these was found. It was taken from the sands in a good state of preservation. There perhaps it had lain undisturbed for a thousand years. This relic, now preserved in the National Museum at Christiania, furnishes a perfectly correct model of the ships of the Norsemen in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is a veritable Viking battle-ship, and was no doubt used for the purposes of adventure and war at a time when the greater part of Europe was still under the dominion of feudalism. The Gokstad boat is open above, and is seventy-five feet in length over all. The length at the water line is sixty-seven and a half feet. The keel line is sixty feet. The mast is arranged for a single

square sail, and a bank of oars on either side furnishes additional means of propulsion. In discussing the Norse discoveries in America, we shall have occasion to refer to the ships of the Norwegians and Icelanders, and to note with wonder the capacity of such vessels to withstand the conflict of the open Atlantic.

Spanish caravels and galleons

Better known than the Viking ships were the caravels and galleons of the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The caravel of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was a small vessel, broad at the bows, high and narrow at the poop, carrying four masts and right-angled triangular sails. The sails were attached to long yards, and were slung about one-fourth of the distance from the lower ends. It was reserved for ships of this pattern to bring the Man of Genoa to the New World.

The Spanish galleon was a larger and more important ship, dating from the fifteenth century and still well known in the eastern seas. The galleon is a vessel equally available for war or commerce. Ships of this style have three or four decks. They are large in capacity, clumsy in build, having bulwarks three or four feet in thickness, and are built up at both stem and stern. In the age of discovery and colonization, the galleons of the Spaniards were the trade-ships and battle-ships of that aggressive people until they were run down and dispersed by the war vessels of the English and the Dutch.

One other feature of the situation of mankind in the fifteenth century remains to be noticed;

and that is, the emplacement of the different races of Europe with respect to the new order which was about to begin. In such a situation everything was to be anticipated from the maritime nations, and little or nothing from the inland ones. It could hardly be expected that the Germans would discover America, or the Poles, or the Austrians, or the Swiss. The great work must be accomplished by the maritime and especially by the peninsular peoples. The situation of the latter was peculiarly favorable. Races inhabiting such countries as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Norway, have the advantage of looking ever to the sea, and of gaining familiarity and courage. Furthermore, they had the maritime equipment ready, and were not compelled to build and man fleets especially for the purpose. Ships for trade were ships for discovery. The new adventure to far lands beyond Atlantis or Thule—either to those vaguely known by gorgeous tradition, blown back across the waves or brought back by stray adventurers, or to those never dreamt of even by poetic imaginations—was but an extension of such as they were wonted to for daily bread. The littoral islands, such as Great Britain and Iceland, were also favorably placed. Nor should we fail to mention the situation of the Lowlands bordering the Baltic and North Sea. Primitive peoples living in such a region, from the nature of the case, are almost amphibious; they obtain the mastery of the sea almost as readily as the land.

Situations of peoples for discovery

At the middle of the fifteenth century, the nations of Europe had been prepared by long discipline and the slow marches of progress for the great work of discovering a new world. Yet no one dreamed that it was awaiting them.

PART I.

The Aboriginal Races of America.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST INHABITANTS OF AMERICA

The world is a Man-bearing planet. The human being is a native to the sphere which he inhabits. At some time and by some method he began to be. Conditions were not always as they now are. The earth was formerly in a superheated and nebulous state, in which it was impossible that life could exist other than potentially. No doubt there was in the fiery mass the "promise and potency" of life, of man-life, of all life, even from the beginning; but it was only when the globe was sufficiently cooled that *organic* life could appear upon its surface.

The earth as man's home

It is not here that we shall discuss the *time* and the *manner* of the coming of the human race upon the earth. In this connection we shall do no more than sketch the outlines of an inquiry relative to the First Races of Men in America. More properly, we should say the first *known* races of men in America; for it is not only possible, but probable, that long before the epoch when the builders of the oldest existent structures occupied this continent, other nations and races had flourished here. How far back in prehistoric and geological time such unknown and indeed unheard-of races may have dwelt in this part of the globe,

Beginnings of human life

it were vain to conjecture. We know only that it accords with the well-established order of nature that human beings shall appear wherever and whenever they can exist.

Inhabitants everywhere

It is only in a few uninhabitable parts of the earth, such as the frozen zones, the inaccessible hearts of the deserts, and the barren rocks of the sea, that human beings are not now found as inhabitants; and it has been so for ages. Among the favorable and even half-favorable regions of the globe, no place has ever yet been found in which the man-creature did not rise before the adventurer as if to say "Lo, here am I." Neither has any expanse of the illimitable sea been sufficient to prevent by its breadth the appearance of man in all the inhabitable islands of the globe.

Superior resources of the New World

The Western Hemisphere was favorable to habitation. Modern history has shown how vast and how attractive are the resources of the so-called New World, and that same history is beginning to show the tremendous capacity of our continent in the way of inhabitants. It may be that ere long the blind and inexorable laws which seem to determine the place and the progress of mankind shall change the respective situations of the overpopulated East and the underpopulated West, even to such a degree that all social and historical facts shall be reversed, so that the New World shall resume the relative position of the Old, and the Old that of the New.

We may not, however, in a historical work, long indulge us in speculation and philosophy.

What is, is, and what has been, has been; and it is the facts rather than the deductions of history which we are here to seek. It is fitting that the story of the deeds and the progress of the great transplanted races which now possess the American continent shall be preceded with a brief account of the races that went before.

When America was discovered by Europeans, it was found to be an inhabited land. The character and disposition of the natives were observed by the new comers, and afterwards their history was made a subject of inquiry. Their institutions were studied. Their tribal and national organizations became known, and their race characteristics and tendencies were discussed by intelligent and observant inquirers.

First inhabitants of America

These races, however, in few or no instances professed to have originated where they were found. Most of them had traditions of migration from far distant regions. Some had tales of being driven from their ancestral homes by other tribes; some admitted that they had themselves expelled others from their holdings. Often they had legends of their own creation by a Great Spirit, usually a nature myth, but always of their creation far away. And they pointed out to Europeans, or the latter gradually discovered, many tangible evidences of the presence of races antedating themselves and entirely unknown to them.

As to whence these earlier races inhabiting the New World came, and as to the routes of travel

or voyage by which they reached our shores, we have no certain knowledge. We are not even sure that they were immigrants. As to whether, if immigrants, they were the men of shell mounds, and whether they were also the ancestors of the copper-colored Indians of later date, has not been certainly determined. It may be that the Indians were a developed variation from an older stock. It may be that the well-marked characteristics of the Indian races resulted from their evolution in the solitudes of America. Certain it is, that even within a few generations, the physical type of the residents in the Indian Territory has been deeply modified by peace, security, settled life, good, regular, and well-cooked food, and civilized dwellings, habits, thoughts, and education. Hence it may well be that the change from fishing, hunting, and picking up shell-fish and berries, to agriculture and stock-raising, and not impossibly sometimes a reverse change to a hunting life and partial disuse of agriculture, have more than once caused a profound modification in the physique of the American Indian.

Question of origin

Here we must revert to the probable origin of the first men who inhabited the New World; that is, the first men of whom we have even a traditional knowledge. We may assume that the Indians of North America, with their kin, who in course of time became the temple builders and monument builders of Central and South America, were the first, or approximately the first, of the races to reach this continent. We

North American Indians first

shall assume (though many of the best ethnologists hold the opposite) that they did not originate in this hemisphere, but that they were ultimately traceable to the same ethnic derivation as were the older races in Asia. In fact, the author believes that we have reason for regarding all of the aborigines of America as being of Mongoloid descent. They branched originally, he does not doubt, from the same human stem with the Chinese, the Malays, the Polynesians, and the other Mongolian stocks of Eastern and Northeastern Asia.

Indians probably of Mongol type

The race characteristics of the people whose remains have been exhumed from the mounds were, in our judgment, all of the Mongoloid type. The human remains that have been occasionally recovered from still older ages of American history all show the common features of Mongolia and Polynesia. The skulls of the Mongoloids on the two sides of the Pacific have the same shape, the same peculiar angles, and the same distinguishing arrangements of the parts. As to size of body, there is the greatest variation, as there well might be in consideration of the world-wide dispersion of the race. The ancient Mongoloids ranged in bodily stature from pigmies to giants, and the modern representatives of this stock have like variations. Even in the single family of the Chinese it is possible to select some of the largest and some of the smallest specimens of mankind. On our own continent, in the mounds of the Tennessee and the Cumberland, skeletons

Race type of mound skeletons

of adults have been found scarcely three feet in height, while in Patagonia the giants sometimes measure seven feet or more in stature. Variations of this kind result from development and peculiar conditions. The pigmy and the giant are as natural to their respective environments as are the dwarf trees of Japan or the *Sequoia gigantea* of California. The variation in the size of human beings signifies little, but identity of race characteristics signifies much.

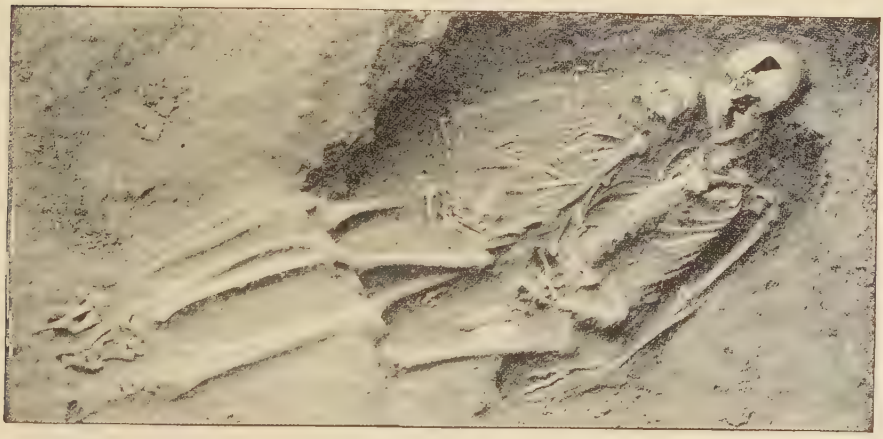
Variant sizes of race types

The development of the building and monumental art among the races of the past was variant to a degree. Within the limits of our own country, the structural remains are nearly all earthworks. These are monumental, military, or symbolical in character. All men have had peculiar notions with respect to memorials for the dead. Nearly all have developed a system of monuments to mark the places of burial. In the case of the builders of many of the mounds, it is not clear for what purpose the latter were constructed. Doubtless they commemorated something; but it is not known that they were in any particular sense the tombs of the nation's dead. Indeed, the presumption is to the contrary; for only in a few instances have human remains been discovered by excavation in the mounds, and in such cases it is doubtful whether sepulture was the primary or only the secondary consideration.

Uncertain purpose of mounds

It is known, however, that the prehistoric mounds were taken by the later Red Indians as suitable places for the burial of their dead. Such

THE ADENA MOUND, CHILLICOTHE, OHIO, BEFORE REMOVAL.



DOUBLE BURIAL IN GARTNER MOUND, ON THE SCIOTO RIVER, OHIO.

SKELETON IN GARTNER MOUND, WITH STONE AND DISCOIDAL AT HEAD.

(The three by permission of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.)

use of older monuments for the sepulture of recent occupants is called "intrusive burial." When skeletons are found in the mounds, they are generally those of Indians, and the graves are not deep down, but superficial. In fact, though the monumental mounds are clearly the works of men, though they were certainly reared to commemorate something, it has not been determined what the thing intended really was.

Construction and contents

Chambers, recesses, and various special parts have been found within the mounds, and such parts bear a tolerably clear significance as to the civilization which was commemorated. Utensils, weapons, personal belongings, religious emblems, and unknown bits of workmanship, are found in sufficient quantities to indicate that the preservation of such materials was *one* of the ends in view; but that there was a larger design can hardly be doubted.

The second general variety of these earthworks was the military mound and rampart. In several places within the borders of the present United States, huge elevations of earth are found, having a geometrical or at least a regular plan, indicating unmistakably the agency of man. Such works have clearly the military character. They were manifestly built as defenses against enemies. It is not to be conceived that they were designed as protection against natural calamities or against wild beasts, or as mere ramparts having no respect to actual enemies in force. On the contrary, they are certainly the remains of works

Military works

that were devised in anticipation of serious war. In a few instances, they have the form of modern forts and earthworks; though, it is true, with defects which make their actual service a very difficult problem.

There is still a third and possibly a fourth variety of earth mound belonging to our prehistoric ages. The third kind seems to have been of a religious and symbolical character. There are certain moles of earth that have the shape of animals; some are quadrupeds, some birds, and some serpents. It is hardly conceivable that these were constructed as defensive works, and that the peculiar form was an afterthought. Such mounds were evidently designed in the ideal and philosophical spirit, but what the particular thought of the builders was cannot well be determined. In one or two famous examples of these works, the allegorical intent seems to have been uppermost; as in the case where the mole is in the shape of a huge serpent, having a wide-open mouth, and an egg-like mound lying in the jaws.

Symbolic mounds

Still a fourth kind of earthwork or stone work built by the elder tribes in America was that form of mound or pyramid which had a manifestly scientific or religious design. Such remains are common, but they are not often found within the limits of the present United States. They appear in the far Southwest, in Mexico, in Central America, and in the Andean sections of South America. In some particulars the works are analogous to the great monuments of Egypt. They seem to

Religious or commemorative mounds

bear an astronomical, perhaps astrological, significance. It is probable that most of the works of the kind here referred to had also a religious use. The altar and the observatory were as one. Nor is the relation illogical, since the priest and the astrologer were one, and since the heavenly bodies were watched and worshiped, considered and adored, in the same act by the same people.

Even more remote from the present time than are the conditions considered above, was another and older age in our continental country. There seems to have been in this hemisphere a race of men who preceded the Red Indians. Whether they developed into the latter or displaced them, we do not know. The race referred to we may properly regard as the first of all, so far as this inquiry is concerned. It is here assumed that the reader has some information relative to the shell-heap mounds left by a prehistoric race on many of the coasts of Europe. To these mounds archæologists have given the Scandinavian name of *Kjökkenmöddings;* that is, "kitchen refuse heaps." The descriptive term in English is *kitchen middens.*

The "Kitchen middens"

Such remains indicate one of the most primitive conditions of mankind. It was a state in which rude barbarians gathered the shell-fish along the shore and ate them in their huts, leaving the shells to accumulate round about in heaps, some of which are as much as ten feet in depth. In these mounds of refuse materials is found an admixture of savage implements, all of which are

of the Palæolithic[1] or Old Stone Age; that is, of the age in which the barbarians chipped their implements out of stone without knowing how to *polish* them into better forms.

Distribution of shell mounds

These kitchen middens, however, are found not only on the coasts of Europe, but also on the shores of the Western Hemisphere. Lyell, in exploring the American coast from Cape Cod to the mouth of the Savannah, found many aboriginal shell-heaps, which he regarded as identical in character with those of Denmark. Subsequent investigations have verified Lyell's opinion. The American middens are rather plentifully distributed along all of the better parts of the eastern coast of the United States; that is, in the very parts in which the earth mounds are wanting.

These remains differ by a whole horizon from the mounds which are found in the interior of the continent. Certainly, they differ as much as possible from the stone works, such as the pyramids, bastions, and temples of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. The American shell-mounds when

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[1] The suggestion of Wilson in his work entitled "Prehistoric Man" (Chapter i., pages 72–79), that the terms "palæolithic" and "neolithic" should be replaced with palæo-*technic* and neo-*technic*, is perhaps correct. No doubt stone (*lithos*) was the principal material upon which primeval man exercised his rude skill as an artisan; but there were many other materials. He was a bone-cutter and shell-cutter and wood-cutter and hide-dresser, as well as a stone-cutter. There is therefore only a measure of propriety in describing the primal epoch in human history as the Old *Stone* age, or in naming the second epoch in human progress the New *Stone* age. But the words "palæolithic" and "neolithic" have been so widely accepted, and have entered so largely into historical archæology, that they can hardly be rejected even for terms of a truer etymology.

SHELL-HEAPS AT DAMARISCOTTA, ME.

opened discover the relics left by savage residents on the seashore, and point to a condition of life identical in its characteristics with that of the kitchen-middeners of northwestern Europe. Some of the American shell-heaps are of great dimensions. In the Savannah River, on Stalling's Island above Augusta, one such heap is found which is fully three hundred feet in length by one hundred and twenty feet in width, and the depth of the artificial remains is over fifteen feet. Such finds are to be met with on other parts of our southern seacoast, not only on the Florida peninsula, but around the Gulf as far as the River of Palms; but in no other place are they so numerous as on the peninsula of Cape Cod.

Size of American middens

We thus discover in the soil of America the vestiges of at least one race of men who flourished on this continent (if barbarians and semi-barbarians can be said to flourish) before the age when the Red Indians prevailed; besides the Eskimo, who probably once lived far south of their present abode. As we have indicated, the relationship, if any, of these aboriginal races has not yet been ascertained, and perhaps it never can be.

It is possible that all our aboriginal races were a single race under various forms of evolution, in successive ages and in different parts of the continent. On the other hand, it may be that they were distinct races having separate origins, divided by ages of time and continents of space. On the whole, it seems to accord best with what we know

One race or several?

of these primitive peoples to regard them as of distinct migratory origins. This deduction carries the reader close to the assumption to which the distinguished Agassiz declared himself to be driven; and that is the assumption that the American races of the primeval ages rose by creation from several centres of life in different parts of the continent, and that the same was probably true of all the races of the world in their respective spheres of beginning. Recent evolutionists might substitute the statement that the first races were evolved from the simiads or monkey-like families of given districts.

Theories of primal evolution

This startling conclusion in either of the two forms does not, we think, necessarily follow from the facts. More reasonable it is to regard the world as having been peopled by the migration of tribes and nations having ultimately a single origin. Adopting this theory, it appears on the whole more likely that the Western Hemisphere was peopled, in the first place, by adventurers and emigrants from the old shores of Asia. And taking this hypothesis as true, we should infer that the kitchen-middeners who came perhaps first, as well as the Red Indians who came after them, had their origin among the Mongoloid branches of the Eastern Asiatics, and that the migrations which brought them to the shores of America were from the West and not from the East; that is, by way of the Pacific Ocean and the Pacific Islands, rather than by way of the Atlantic routes from Western Europe.

Theory of an Asiatic origin

Such is the opinion of authorities of the first rank. They believe that the first emigrants settled on the Pacific coast, and only there; and that from this centre their descendants spread and developed through the continent, forming the variant races and languages which ethnologists now find or have found there. They consider that the tribes lived originally by fishing, a much easier and simpler art than hunting; and spread along the waters where fish was plentiful. One striking fact, which we shall come upon again in the next chapter, is strongly confirmatory of this. The Pacific Coast, the best fishing-ground of the continent, is a huddle of small unrelated language stocks of Indians, ten times more numerous than in any other spot of similar size on the continent. In the isolated valleys between the transverse mountain spurs which here reach down to the ocean, small families grew, too separate to blend or have close relations with each other, but developing each in its own life and tongue; and only when one moved out into the broad continental expanse did it a find a chance to grow great.

Pacific coast theory confirmed

We may well add a few particulars about certain of the remains left by the so-called "Mound Builders," not now regarded as a single race. Such were the "Mound Builders" in North America, whose vestages are scattered about the continent, especially throughout the country between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains. The mounds are found distributed northward to the Great Lakes, and southward to

"Mound Builders" distribution of mounds

the Gulf of Mexico. These monuments were noted by the first adventurers who made their way into the central parts of our continent, but little attention was at first paid to them, because they were regarded as being the works of the Indians. Investigation and study—investigation of the mounds themselves and study of the manners, customs, and traditions of the Indians—developed the hypothesis of a pre-existent race. More recent investigation has thrown the weight of archæologists once more against this. It is now regarded as certain that the builders were not only of several different races, but belonged to the same general stocks as were found in the several districts by the white men,—Cherokees, Shawnees, Winnebagos, etc.; indeed, were often members of those tribes themselves, and of no great antiquity.

Mound builders not one race

The American mounds are most plentiful in the great valley of the Mississippi. The finest display of them, however,—the most numerous display within a given area,—is that of the Ohio valley. The State of Ohio is remarkably rich in prehistoric mounds, of which there are about ten thousand, together with fifteen hundred other works belonging to the same age. The States of Indiana and Tennessee have almost an equal distribution of such works. These mounds began to be scientifically investigated in the first half of the present century. In the year 1847, the amateur archæologists Ephraim George Squier and Edwin Hamilton Davis wrote a remarkable

Mounds of Mississippi valley

treatise (for the age) on our primeval American earthworks, entitled *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley.* The result of this investigation was accepted by the authorities of the then newly organized Smithsonian Institute at Washington City. The great treatise of Squier and Davis was published as the first volume of the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge,* and to that work the reader who wishes to know the development of study into our American antiquities is referred, as the beginning of serious American archæology. The limits of space and of relevance forbid even a summary of the later studies which have supplanted their views. Here as in all great sciences, the earlier gropings were an indispensable preliminary to the later conclusions; but for the pioneers, the careful tillers could not have made occupancy.

Squier and Davis

Suffice it to say in this connection that the American mounds vary greatly in their size and importance. Some of them are of prodigious magnitude, while others are so small as to be disregarded. In hundreds of places, the farmer's plow has, for half a century or more, turned the soil which now covers the mounds in the Mississippi valley. The green corn springs in long rows above them, and there the yellow wheat waves in summer.

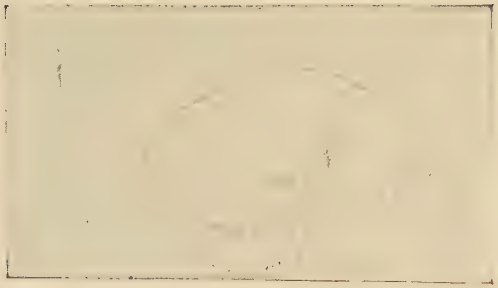
Varying size of mounds

Disregarding the less important, we may fix our attention briefly on some of the greater mounds. One of the most remarkable is the earthwork called Fort Hill, in Highland County,

Ohio, about fifty miles east of Cincinnati. This, as the name implies, is a military work of remarkable character. The circumvallation has an extent of nearly four miles. The outside defense is a mole of earth from ten to twenty feet in height. Outside of the mole is a ditch placed in the modern manner, so as to increase the difficulty of approach to the rampart. The ground plan is a great circle; but there is an opening in one side. This opening is flanked with the long lines of a rectangular earthwork, branching in such a manner as to render the lanes of approach defensible by the holders of the fort. In many instances the mounds have two or more circles with *inside* moats, which of course render the place a trap for the defenders, and are not explainable; and at Hopetown, Ohio, there is a kind of military field of great extent, covered with a series of works including three circles and rectangular embankments. Within the area there are certain mounds not very great, but sufficiently important to awaken much interest respecting their design.

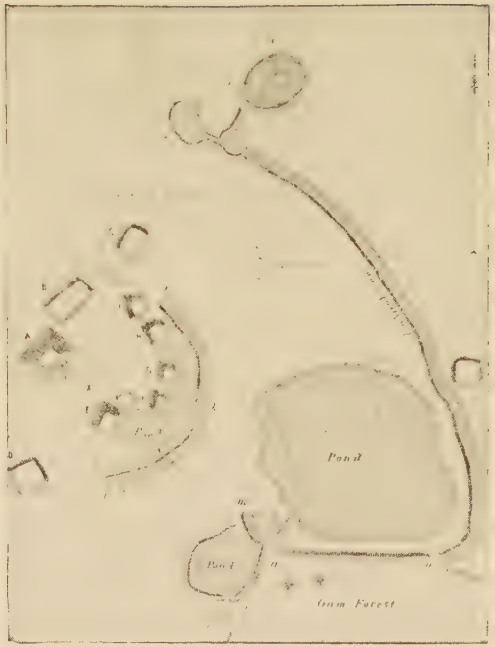
Description of chief mounds

A third conspicuous earthwork within the limits of Ohio is a great fortification at Newark. Here the defense proper includes an area of about two miles square, while the outside moles or embankments are twelve miles in extent. In some parts the embankments are not very high, being only two or three feet above the surface; but in other and more easily penetrable parts the rampart is twenty feet in height.



FORTIFICATION ON ETOWAH RIVER,
ALABAMA.

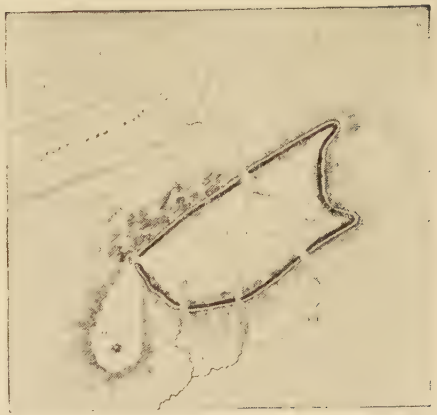
MILITARY WORK NEAR LEXINGTON, KY.



WORKS AT JEFFERSON, MOORHOUSE PARISH,
LOUISIANA.

SUPPOSEDLY MILITARY
WORKS OF THE MOUND BUILDERS.

(The upper part of each is North.)



FORTIFIED HILL IN HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO,
NEAR MOUTH OF GREAT MIAMI RIVER.

WORKS IN LAFAYETTE COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI.

It is not needed in a work professedly historical, and having for its intended subject matter the transactions of other races long subsequent to those here under consideration, that we should elaborate upon our prehistoric monuments. The military type of structure prevails in those parts of the country which invited to large settlements and cultivation. A very remarkable defensive work is that on the left bank of the Scioto River in Ohio. This is a rectangular embankment, having the river for the fourth side of the inclosure. There are openings north and south. The principal inclosure has an extent of thirty-two acres. Within this is a smaller rectangle, included by embankments and having two flanked openings which issue towards those in the outer rampart.

Description of military mounds

Another structure of military character and large extent is found on Grave Creek, twelve miles below Wheeling, West Virginia. This includes a mound seventy feet in height. Another great work is near Miamisburg, Ohio, and here the tumulus has an elevation of more than sixty feet. Other similar works are found at Newark, Ohio; at Merom, on the left bank of the Wabash, Sullivan County, Indiana; and at Cahokia, Illinois, opposite the city of St. Louis. The Cahokia mound is one of the greatest of all in extent and interest, being seven hundred feet in length and five hundred feet in breadth. The area of the ground plan includes about eight acres. Its height is ninety feet, and the contents about twenty millions of cubic feet of earth.

On the north fork of Paint Creek, Ohio, is a work, the outer wall of which includes an area of 111 acres. It has for an outside rampart an inclosure of 850 feet in length and breadth. Within the principal rectangular inclosure are two other mounds, one of which is circular and the other semilunar in character. At Marietta, Ohio, there is a square mound of a peculiar character, having projecting moles of earth from the four sides, and these projections decline to the level of the surrounding plain.

On the whole, it is exceedingly difficult to determine the uses to which the American prehistoric mounds were put by their builders. One of the most striking general aspects of the question is the division of the mounds into different classes according to geographical distribution. In some parts of the country the mounds are of one character, and in other parts of another character. Thus, for example, the mounds of the Ohio valley have the strong and almost universal characteristics of the military design. It would appear that a mound-building race concentrated in this part of the country and held it by force of arms; and just as certainly, that it was not a large or powerful race. Defense is the one general feature of the whole of these monumental remains. This would imply that there were *several* warring races occupying the country between the Great Lakes and the Ohio, since a single strong race would not defend its centre and leave its borders undefended.

Geographic variance of mounds

Not so, however, was a great section of the Northwest. The region between Lake Michigan and the upper waters of the Mississippi was held by a people of another spirit. It is in this wide territory, mostly within the limits of the present State of Wisconsin, that most of the symbolical mounds are found. These do not suggest a war-like purpose, nor is it easy to decide what was the end in view when the monuments were built. It is here that the ground plans of the earth-works seem often to be in the similitude either of birds and land animals or of articles made by men; sometimes in that of men themselves. In some instances the animals delineated are thought by some observers to be prehistoric, which would prove a great antiquity for the works.

Symbolic north-western mounds

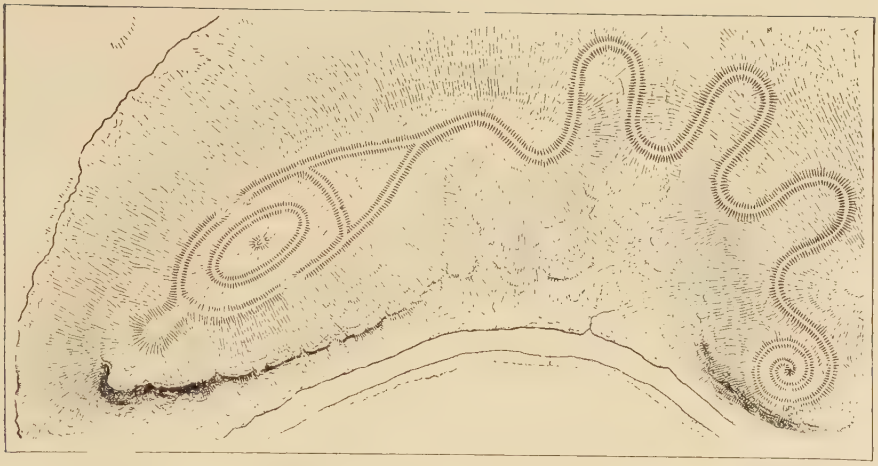
There are, however, great differences of opinion as to what they represent. There are cases in which the ground plans have the shapes of the skins of animals spread out. Many of the elevations are shaped like implements. All of the figures have a suggestion of quaintness. It is probable that the people had a passion for delineating the beasts, birds, and reptiles, with which they were acquainted, as well as the articles of manufacture to which their art had brought them. In the case of some figures, there was a peculiar exaggeration of the length of the arms and forelegs; there is a contest of opinion as to whether these represent men or birds.

In some instances they drew mathematical figures that had no similitude to living creatures

Strangest and most interesting of all the facts referred to, if true, are the occasional delineations of the figures of extinct animals. One remarkable case of this kind of work has been thought to exist in Grant County, near the confluence of the Wisconsin and the Mississippi rivers. Here on the earth is drawn, in an elevation 135 feet in length and in proper proportions of height and bigness, a figure generally considered a mammoth, and the mound is designated by the people of the country as the Big Elephant Mound. Others, however, consider it a raccoon, taking the elephant's trunk for a tail; in recent views there is little sign of either appendage.

Meaning of mounds

The question still remains, however, what this pictorial representation of things animate and things inanimate could signify to their makers. The racial spirit underlying this class of archæological remains would seem to have been poetical and historical. In a nation without literature, the spirit of poesy and the more sober genius of history might well seek expresion in tangible and permanent records. The outspread face of the earth was as the page of a book on which the idealists of the age traced their fancies, suggested by nature itself. From seeing the rude resemblance of natural confirmations to living creatures, to the rearing of the same figure in relief, is but a stage of progress which might suggest itself to the dullest artistic instinct. If the Ohio valley bears evidence to the warring conditions of some prehistoric tribes, the valleys



THE SERPENT MOUND, ADAMS COUNTY, OHIO.

(Sketch by W. H. Holmes, from *Science*, by permission.)

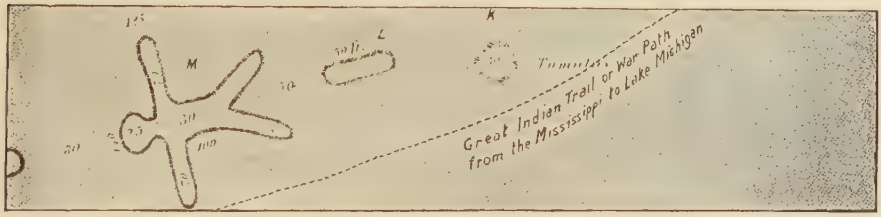
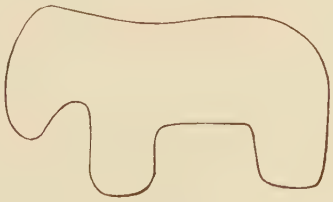


FIGURE MOUNDS IN DADE COUNTY, WISCONSIN.

RACCOON MOUND,
GRANVILLE, LICKING CO., OHIO.

(Squier and Davis.)



SO-CALLED "ELEPHANT MOUND,"
WISCONSIN.

(Drawing by Middleton in Twelfth Report of Bureau of Ethnology.)

SYMBOLIC OR FIGURE MOUNDS IN THE UNITED STATES.

of the upper Mississippi and the Wisconsin bear witness to a more peaceable and artistic development of others.

Considering the relics of primeval man in America, we first note the character of the remains found in the shell-heaps along the Atlantic border. These middens are most numerous on the peninsula of Cape Cod, where they were observed by the earliest explorers. The general character of the kitchen middens has already been described. The human remains contained in them are usually articles of pottery and implements of bone. They indicate a degree of progress only one stage above that of the Cave Dwellers of Europe.

Results of excavations

The stone implements scattered sparsely in the middens are of the palæolithic character; that is, they are *chipped* into comparatively regular forms, but are not *polished*. The people of the shell-heap age were therefore antecedent to the men of the New Stone epoch, who produced the smooth and beautiful axes, hammers, and grinding-stones, in use by the Indians. It may be assumed that the kitchen-middeners of America, whether of the Atlantic or Pacific coast, were of the same race and epoch as were the island and river tribes which we shall next consider. For it is appropriate to note with some care the remains found in the diluvial gravel deposits of America. As are the relics, so were the people. If in future ages such implements as plows, such inventions as Waltham watches, such machines

Implements and utensils

as Baldwin locomotives and McCormick reapers, should be found buried in the gravel, the inference would be that the people of the epoch when the gravel bed was formed were a civilized people, having plows and watches, locomotives and reapers. These relics might be older, but never younger than the gravel beds—unless they were purposely buried therein. Of course, it must be proved that the relics have not been washed into the beds from above, or different strata mixed.

In the river mounds of America, many articles have been found to indicate the character of the race which flourished when the mounds were created. Such relics reveal a semi-barbaric people who had little acquaintance with the higher arts, but who nevertheless had talents and capacities for certain kinds of activity. Whether their talents and capacities, whether their arts and industries, indicate a race like the Red Indians, is still a disputed point among archæologists; but the theory that the people of the diluvial gravel heaps were an older stock seems to be sufficiently proved.

Probable culture stage

Whether the articles discovered in the natural gravel mounds go back to the palæolithic age, is one of the most fiercely contested points in all archæology. The valley of the Delaware has furnished examples of implements which one class of most competent investigators considers as old as those found in the gravel-beds of the Rhone, or indeed anywhere in the world. Another, equally competent, pronounces them *all*

Articles of palæolithic age

"rejects" from Indian stone-tool making. In a bluff about two miles south of Trenton, New Jersey, the archæologist C. C. Abbott found, in the year 1873, a number of argillite chipped-stone implements apparently belonging to the Old Stone Age. He and most others think them "in place"; that is, imbedded with the gravel in the places where they were found, at the time when the glacial river subsided into its present bed. With equal positiveness, others hold them to have been washed or sunken in later. The relics found, now to be seen in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, were rude spear-heads, arrow-heads, axes, etc., similar in character to such articles in European collections. They are like the superficial finds so plentiful in the Mississippi valley, examples of which thrown up with the plow may be seen in almost every hamlet, and indeed in a majority of the farm-houses, in eight or ten great States of the Union.

Tools or rejects?

The significance of these relics, whether found in the earth mounds or in the furrow or on the surface, is the probability which they afford of the existence of widely distributed prehistoric races in America in the later diluvial period, and that the people of that age were industrially and artistically in the lowest stage of development. All of the finds in the shell-heaps of our maritime parts bear witness to the same general truth. The later Indians knew nothing of the origin of the chipped-stone implements which they found. They used them, but disclaimed the

Proofs of prehistoric races

making. The true Indian relics are those smooth stone hatchets, tomahawks, grinding-stones, and the like, of which they were both the makers and the users.

Palæoliths not Eskimo

For a while after the discoveries in the Trenton gravels, it was thought that the relics were those of a race like the Eskimo; but further investigation showed that the Eskimo implements were not of the same kind as the chipped-stone work of our primitive race, but were of the Neolithic or *New* Stone Age. In course of time, prehistoric skulls were found in the Trenton gravel-beds, and these were distinctly *not* of the Eskimo character.

Other interesting discoveries of like character have been made in many parts of the present United States. The gravel beds of the Great and Little Miami Rivers in Ohio have furnished relics similar to those of the Delaware deposits. In 1885, Dr. C. L. Metz found near Madisonville, Ohio, in a gravel deposit of the Little Miami, "a rude implement of black flint" analogous in size and character to that found by Dr. Abbott at Trenton. In the Miami gravels at Loveland, Dr. Metz soon found another specimen in the same deposit from which the bones of a mastodon had been taken! In announcing these relics to the Boston Society of Natural History, Professor George Frederick Wright, of Oberlin, Ohio, said: "These implements [found by Dr. Metz] will at once be recognized as among the most important archæological discoveries yet

Coeval with the mastodon

TOOLS, UTENSILS, ORNAMENTS, ETC., FROM THE MOUNDS.

(By permission of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.)

made in America. . . . They show that in Ohio, as well as on the Atlantic coast, man was an inhabitant before the close of the glacial period." The majority of archæologists still hold this view.

Still further west, the same result has rewarded investigation. In the summer of 1887, Mr. Hilborne T. Cresson discovered a large palæolithic flint implement about eight feet below the surface, in a situation to indicate its great antiquity. Mr. Cresson, who was an artist, was sketching as he sat on the edge of a cut of the Ohio and Mississippi Railway, near the town of Medora, in Jackson County, Indiana. While thus engaged, he saw "a piece of steel-gray substance, strongly relieved in the sunlight against the red-colored gravel, just above where it joined the lower grayish-red portion." He succeeded in getting the object out of its bed, and found it to be a chipped implement of argillite. In the following year, he found another specimen of like character, in a similar situation, four feet below the surface, about eighty rods distant from the first discovery.

Palæoliths in the West

The investigations just referred to were made within the limits of the glacial ice-cap which once covered the northern zones of the earth, or along the southern edges of the glacial moraines. Strange to say, like discoveries of palæolithic implements have been made far to the south of the glacial cover. In the Nacoochee valley in Georgia, three chipped-stone hatchets were

And in the South

found in 1872, by Charles C. Jones of Augusta. The implements were discovered on bed rock, in the bottom of a mining excavation nine feet in depth. Four years afterward a similar find was made in a gravel bed in the valley of the James River. In 1877, Professor N. H. Winchell, while making explorations in the upper Mississippi valley, found in a diluvial deposit near Little Falls, Minnesota, a great number of quartz fragments which had been chipped by man. The find was made in the second or middle terrace of the river, about four feet below the surface. What the nature of the chipped fragments might be, was not determined; but mingled with them were several seemingly unmistakable implements of the Old Stone Age. The evidence seemed to show that Professor Winchell had discovered a seat of prehistoric manufacture—that in this place great numbers of our older aborigines had gathered to manufacture or to buy the rude utensils and weapons demanded by their manner of life. The opponents of this view insist on the "reject" theory; but it certainly seems that the latter breaks down by its own weight, and becomes absurd when called into service so often.

Prehistoric manufactories

In the great States of Kansas and Nebraska there are hundreds of miles of the country covered with diluvial or lacustrine deposits, and in these also are many relics of human agency in prehistoric time. The fluvial deposits in this region range from a few feet to a hundred and fifty feet in thickness. In this lake earth, called *loess,*

Relics in lake beds

"THE KODAK HOUSE" OF THE CLIFF-DWELLERS.

many bones of the mastodon and mammoth have been found; and on the Iowa bank of the Missouri River, elegant specimens of neolithic implements have been digged up as much as twenty feet below the surface.

Still farther to the west, within two miles of Denver, at an elevation of more than 5,000 feet above the sea, where the same lacustrine deposit extends over a large area, there was found by Thomas Belt in 1878 a small human skull, which was clearly of a prehistoric origin. Four years afterwards, in northwestern Nevada, Professor W. J. McGee, while making an examination of the basin of the extinct lake called Lahontan, found a beautiful spear-head of obsidian, chipped into shape in the manner of the Old Stone workmen. Indeed, in almost all parts of our country, palæolithic implements of an age long preceding the ascendency of the Red Indians are plentiful, not only on the surface (where their presence proves nothing as to their antiquity), but under the surface, in inaccessible situations, where their existence cannot be accounted for except on the assumption that they were dropped there by the makers or users far back in the Old and New Stone Ages.

Rocky Mountain palæoliths

Of human remains proper, that is, the remains of human bodies, there is also a considerable residue. Of pottery there is an abundance. In the case of physiological relics there has been a serious difficulty in their preservation; for on exposure to the atmosphere they soon crumble into a

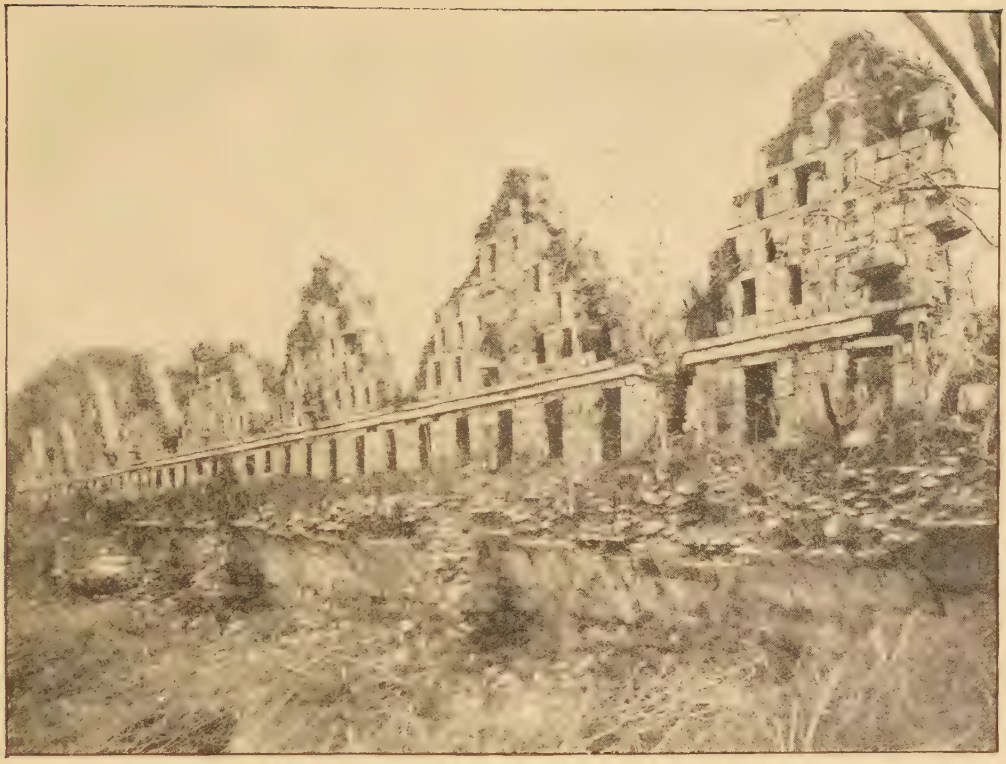
Human remains

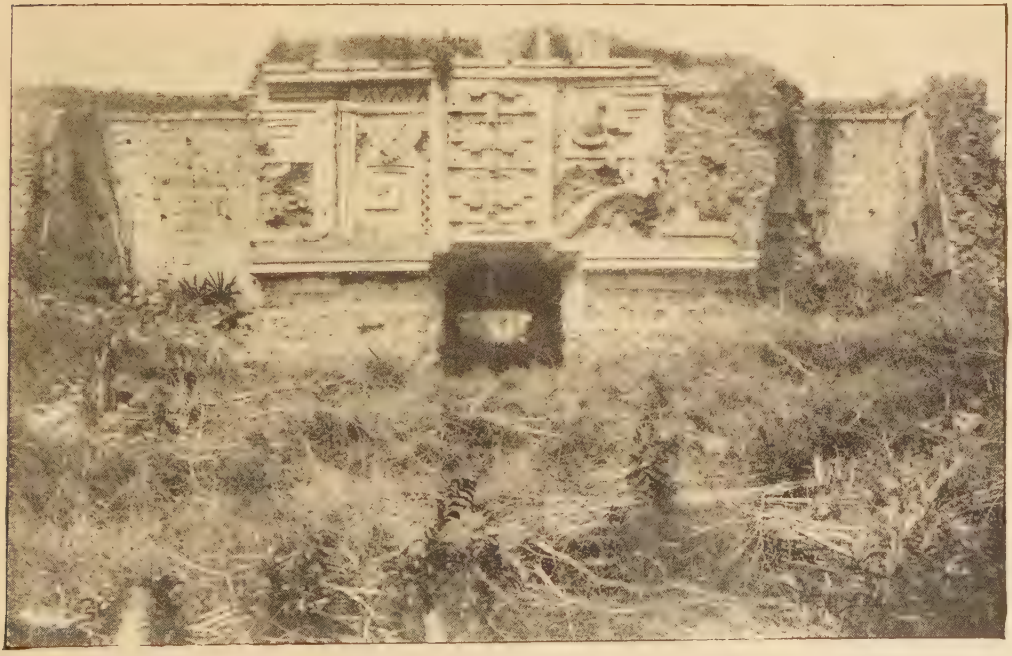
white powder. Some of the mound skulls are sufficiently hard to be preserved in museums, where they may be seen, or with care be handled. Some are kept from decomposition with a thin coating of wax or shellac. It is by this means that the celebrated Calaveras skull, found in a mining shaft in Calaveras County, California, in 1866, and thought by archæologists to be the best evidence yet discovered of the existence of man in the Pleiocene period, is preserved from decay. It rests in the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Harvard University. It probably belonged to one of a race of men who lived during the tertiary or early quarternary period in geology, when several extinct animals, such as the reindeer, the mastodon, and the mammoth, still abounded in the North Temperate Zone; and has no connection with the mound skulls.

The Mound skulls

The most durable parts of the human body are the skull, the teeth, and the thigh-bones. These are the parts which are most frequently found in the earth-mounds. Of these, the diluvial gravel beds can hardly be said to have yielded a specimen, and in the American shell-heaps no authenticated specimens of human skeletons in whole or in part have been found. From the dry, compact, immovable earth of which the mounds are made, a sufficiency of human bones has been recovered to make out the bodily characteristics of the builders. These vary in stature and shape of skull as might be expected. Like the red Indians, they were fishermen and hunters,

Probable age of man





RUINS OF UXMAL.

but also grain-eaters. They had a sufficiency of utensils to supply a moderate household economy. They were not metallurgists, but had considerable skill in pottery. Their earthen wares are best preserved of all their relics—excepting always their chipped implements of flint and stone and obsidian.

Always it is to be borne in mind in these inquiries that our prehistoric race or races developed differently in different parts of the continent. Thus, towards the southwest, the primal men of America became more and more builders in stone. North of the Rio Grande, stonework antiquities nowhere abound; everywhere south of this river, they begin to abound. Ancient Mexico was a land of stone pyramids and temples. Earth work was not wholly abandoned in the south; for there are Mexican earth-mounds as considerable as those of the Ohio valley. But great monuments of cut stone appear also.

Wide variations in development

Further to the south, in Central America, and beyond the Isthmus in Peru, the stone work of the older ages was like that of Egypt and prehistoric Greece for abundance and magnitude. The ruins of this region astonish the antiquarian and the historian.

It is not appropriate, however, that we should dwell longer in the introductory parts of a HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, on those topics which belong by their nature to the prehistoric evolutions of mankind in the Western Hemisphere. Ours is a transplanted civilization, and the peo-

ple who transplanted it were an importation from Europe within a recent and distinctly historical epoch. In the next place we shall give a brief account of the copper-colored, tribally organized nomads, whom the first European adventurers and explorers found in possession of the continent four hundred or even a thousand years ago.

The Red Indians

CHAPTER VI.

THE RED INDIANS

With the shell-mound races of North America, the Europeans and their descendants on this continent have had, so far as can be proved, no direct acquaintance; but as to the Indians the case is different. The latter are well known through centuries of contact, and by almost every kind of intercourse. The Indians were here as occupants when the first men of Aryan descent set foot on the American shores. At the time of the Norse episode it was so; it continued to be so until the English colonies grew into States; and it is so to the present day.

Indian race not vanishing

Contrary to the popular notion, the Indians are perhaps as numerous as they were when their leading nations made war in the Ohio valley. The progress of civilization has rounded up the aborigines into comparatively narrow keeps, and prevented the strong ones from maintaining their numbers by absorbing the weak; thus, to the superficial observer, they seem to be passing away. The reverse often happened, tribes absorbed being thought to have died out. As a fact, however, the Indian requiem is not yet to be sung; the native race is as strong in numbers as ever, and perhaps stronger in resources.

Little traditionary Indian history

Such is the nature of this people that they are to be known only by personal observation and inquiry. It is probable that Indian civilization is as little *permanent* as ever existed in the case of a numerous and widely distributed race. Our natives were, as they still are, almost wholly lacking in historical ambition. They had no architecture: insubstantial huts were the best of their buildings. They had no literature: inscriptions on barks and skins and rarely on rocks were their only records. They had a traditional lore which the old men of the nation sometimes recited; but the tradition rarely took the epical character. Myths and superstitions had more interest for the Indians than did the vague and soon forgotten stories of their wars and migrations.

Indians described by Norsemen

The Indian race was strongly conservative and in a measure changeless. Leif Ericsson and Thorfinn Karlsefne found in New England or Nova Scotia (probably the former), in the beginning of the eleventh century, a race of natives who were not essentially different in character from their descendants whom the Pilgrim exiles encountered in the same region six hundred years afterwards. Yet there had probably been *some* improvement in the natives in the interval between the first and the second discovery of the country. The Skrællings ("scrubs"), according to the Norse descriptions, were a people small in stature, repulsive in manners, ugly, dirty, treacherous. They skulked in the woods round about, or rushed forward shouting and making

battle like a frightened mob. Sometimes, indeed frequently, they made war by water. In such cases they would come on in a fleet of canoes, darkening the water. Like their descendants, the Indians, they had great faith in noise. It was their plan to stampede the enemy with thunderous bravado, rushing towards him, brandishing skin bladders filled with noisy inventions which were harmless in actual conflict. The warriors of the army of King Philip had improved on this method, though their characteristics were still the same.

The Skrællings

Of the Skraellings, nothing is known save from the Norse descriptions, which are slight. Whether they and their ancestors were the kitchen-middeners of Cape Cod, whether their kinsmen and cognate tribes were the shellfish-eaters of the shores of the Atlantic further south and of the Pacific coast, cannot be ascertained. Most likely, however, they were simply the North Central coast Algonquins. At the time of the Norse invasions and settlements, they were in some sense orarians, but they were also found inland as far as the Icelanders penetrated the country. They had apparently not progressed to any marked degree towards that national organization of tribes, overtribes, and nations, which had been reached by large masses of the native races at the time of the landing of French, English, and Dutch on the northern shores. But it must be remembered that they were probably of the poorest undeveloped stocks of the cold, half-barren

Poorly organized

northern shores. There are remaining no authenticated monuments, relics, or trophies to testify of their characteristics or even existence.

The Indians of the islands

When Columbus arrived in the West Indies, he found the archipelago to be inhabited by a race at that time unknown to Europeans, the Arawaks. Greatly were the Spaniards astonished at the appearance and manners of the new people. They were comely, half-white, symmetrical, well-developed, in some cases beautiful. They were an intelligent, gentle, easily pleased, well-disposed race, too soft, and guileless for their own good; for the fierce Caribs of the South American continent were displacing and butchering them, and the Spaniards soon left the Caribs far behind in maleficence. These Arawaks were not strong of body or of purpose, but in natural morality and virtue they far surpassed the Spaniards, who came with swords to kill, with whips to enslave, and with intemperance and disease to destroy.

These aborigines can hardly be regarded as Red Indians. The latter belonged to the north and to the inland parts of the continent. The inhabitants of the islands first visited by the Spaniards were a kind of sub-tropical or tropical Indians, whose race characteristics were in affinity with those of the Caribs and natives of South America, rather than with the features and character of the true North Americans. Still, there was no line of demarcation between the native West Indians and the copper-colored people of

the continental woods and rivers; and most ethnologists now think them of one primeval "American" stock, whether originally autochthonous or immigrant.

Islanders differed from continentals

There was noticeable a striking variation of aboriginal character as the European explorations were continued along our shores. Even in Florida the costumes and features were different. In the West Indies there were many settlements and towns. In Cuba there was a large and rather compact population. On the mainland the population was sparse. Through long stretches of coast no natives would be seen. Those seen were less enthusiastic, gentle, and generous than were the West Indians. The complexion of the Continentals was darker; the figure more bony; the expression unfriendly, saturnine, sinister.

European adventurers' motives

The European adventurers, however, were not discriminating. They gave casual attention to the native peculiarities; for their interest was centred on other matters. Some sought for gold or silver mines. Some thought to reach fabulous cities. Some would find eternal youth by discovering its fountain. Some looked askance at the natives to see if they would be valuable as slaves. A few viewed the new land rationally and considered the practicability of planting colonies. None gave much heed to the ethnic peculiarities of the aborigines; and certainly none regarded their rights or considered their interests.

Anon, when the European colonies—Spanish, English, Dutch, French, Swede—were founded,

and when they began to expand and flourish, the contact with the natives became first serious and then acute. The Spaniards by their lust of gold, and the English by their lust of land, encroached more and more, and those race wars began which have not yet ended. Then the race traits of the Indians became known, and were interpreted into history. Just as the Greeks wrote the story of their wars with the barbarians; just as the Roman writers set forth their own cause and eulogized their heroes at the expense of the heroes of Carthage, Spain, and Germany; just as the British historians know only of the heroism and triumphs of Britons—so the early Spanish and English chroniclers wrote the aborigines out of oblivion into history.

Beginning of the war of races

The name *Indian* requires a word of explanation. The European discoverers at the close of the fifteenth century sailed forth to find the Indies. In doing so, they followed a preconceived theory. The theory was that trans-Atlantic sailing would bring the navigators to the same countries which had been found by the trans-Asiatic travelers. By the latter, the East Indies, Zipango (Japan), and Cathay, had been visited and described in extravagant speech, after the manner of mediævals whose fables could not be disputed. Now the purpose to find the golden Orient by an all-water route westward took possession of the adventurous mind, and Columbus and the Cabots and Cabral and Verrazzano sailed away to reach the Indies, and if the Indies, then the *people*

Meaning of "Indian"

of the Indies. The Spaniards, believing that they had found the expected country, gave to the inhabitants the name appropriate to denizens of that country—Indians.

In our epoch of colonization the Indians were found to be of variable capacity and importance, like other races and states. Some of the tribes were weak and shy. Others were bold, defiant, and warlike. The Florida aborigines were not equal to those of Alabama, Georgia, and Carolina. In Virginia, the Red Men had a powerful confederacy. In northern New York, the Five Nations rose to a semi-civilization much nearer the Aztec than is generally supposed. So also the Narragansetts and the Pequots. These nations did not yield without a serious struggle. They fought for native (or more generally conquered) land, and went back only when they were forced to the earth. The best of them had a fair comprehension of the historical conditions present on the continent. They sought, with temporary success, to play off one nation of the invaders against another. They rose to their highest measure of success and hope in the first passages of the French and Indian War. Ever after the defeat of the French by the English, the contention of the Indians with the Whites was a plainly lost cause.

Capacity and importance

Something should here be said of the distribution of the native races of North America. At the time of the European conquest and colonization, the whole continent was sparsely peopled by the aborigines. They were organized in bands,

Distribution of native races

tribes, nations, confederations. There was, however, no strong political tie. The individual was not bound to his band; the band was not bound to the tribe; the tribe was not bound to the nation; the nation was not bound to the confederation, except in each case by the will of the subordinate party. Such a thing as compulsory union of political interests and enterprises was unknown among the Indians. Every combination might be broken up by the will of the parties thereto. There was not even any head with a right to obedience in time of peace, unless it were voluntarily accorded.

Feeble Indian organization

The first French, English, and Dutch settlers, on the Atlantic coast, encountered different branches of the great Algonquin family, formerly called also the Ojibway.[1] This mighty stock, by far the largest of North America, spread on the north from Hudson's Bay nearly to the Canadian Rockies, almost across the continent. Steadily narrowing southward, it extended at its southern limit from the mouth of Chesapeake Bay on the east to just across the Mississippi in Iowa, and diagonally through Middle Tennessee to about its southern border. Only in one portion of this enormous territory was there a break. Through

The Algonquin stock

[1] The caprices of spelling have unfortunately changed the true pronounciation of several of these tribal names ending in *a*. Those who first met the Ojibwa, Iowa, Chippewa, etc., for instance, pronounced the names Ojibway, Ioway, Chippeway, which was as near the native pronunciation as English phonetics could arrive. Later writers having spelled the names as first given above, intending the *a* to be long, the English tendency to make final *a* neutral has given us the barbarisms Ojibwuh, I'owuh or even Io'wuh, Chippewuh.

the heart of it, along both banks of the St. Lawrence and both sides of Lakes Ontario and Erie, clove its way the great *enclave* of the Iroquois. This is perhaps the most striking proof—unless it be the Sioux, embracing the Missouri Valley and that of the Arkansas—of the original spread of the tribes through fishing facilities afforded by rivers, lakes, and ocean coasts. The Iroquois stock hugged this immense water line with curious pertinacity and exactness of alignment for a thousand miles, nowhere spreading more than fifty or a hundred miles from it, except in one spot, which confirms the theory. Near its southwestern end it had followed the line of the Susquehanna, and formed a considerable block through eastern Pennsylvania. And lastly, the heart of the historic Five Nations (Iroquois) was along the Mohawk and the threaded string of lakes in Western New York. It must be said that very early in the history of the Iroquois races, a branch had gone south and taken to the mountains, becoming the great hunting and agricultural nation of the Cherokees; but even of these wanderers a part clung to the old livelihood, becoming the Tuscaroras and Nottaways along the North Carolina rivers and sounds.

The Iroquois stock

We will begin our survey with New England, entirely inhabited by Algonquins. In the forests and along the rivers of Maine roamed the Abenaki or Abnaki (including also the Penobscots, Norridgewocks, and others), with whom the people of the Old Bay Colony were once and again at war.

The New England tribes

Massachusetts and New Hampshire tribes

The Pennacooks occupied northeastern Massachusets and southern New Hampshire. The shores of the Bay were the haunt of the Massachusetts or "Blue Hills" Indians, who gave their name to bay and colony and State. Cape Cod was possessed by the Nausets. Southeastern Massachusetts gave lodgment to the Wampanoags or Pokanokets. In the centre around Worcester existed the Nipmucks; the western part was an uninhabited wild, because the Iroquois, who made no use of it themselves, none the less would scalp any other Indian who set his wigwam there. The same was true of Vermont and the habitable part of western and northern New Hampshire, and to some extent of western Connecticut. Most of this last, however, held a few thousand members of many weak and scattered tribes, none of them over a few hundred, some but a few dozens. The one great Indian power in Connecticut was in the section east of the Quonnehtakut or "long river." There, along the eastern side of the lovely Thames, lay the seats of the fierce Pequot confederacy, scarcely older in occupancy than the white settlers who exterminated them; recent immigrants from the Mohicans of the Hudson, who had expelled the original or at least much older Narragansett occupants. Terrible to the neighboring Indians, they went down at a blow under civilized arms in the hands of a tenth their number. Through the present Rhode Island hunted and fished the Narragansetts, who left their nomen on the beautiful waters and shores which they called their own.

Connecticut tribes

IROQUOIS (MOHAWK): THA-YEN-DAN-E-GEA OR BRANT, HEAD CHIEF.
(Painting by George Catlin.)

OJIBWAY: AH-MAH-JE-WA-YAS.
(Crayon by E. A. Burbank.)

SAC AND FOX: KEOKUK (WATCHFUL FOX).
(Photograph by W. H. Jackson.)

OSAGE: SHONGA-SA-PA (BLACK DOG).
(Photograph by W. H. Jackson.)

TYPES OF PURE-BLOODED AMERICAN INDIANS.
(From the collection of Edward E. Ayer, Chicago, by permission.)

Along the Hudson the Dutch found the Mohicans, an Algonquin people whose most vigorous tribe had invaded Connecticut as just stated. The remainder of the State was dominated by the mighty Five Nations or Iroquois League. These almost made a desert of all that space between the Hudson and the Mississippi, and north of the Ohio, by extirpating their Indian kin; nearly exterminated the French colonists of Montreal; and were terrible in the intercolonial wars. They had just reached that worst stage in culture when the forces of destruction are at their highest and those of upbuilding are yet dormant. After their absorption of the Tuscaroras in the eighteenth century they became the Six Nations. The original five, in order from east to west, were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas; the Onondagas held the central council-house. This confederacy was perhaps formed in the sixteenth century by Hayowentha or Hiawatha,[1] thereafter honored as a demigod by the tribes. In the next century it turned on all the other members of the northern Iroquois stock and swept them from the earth: the Hurons of upper Canada, the Attiwendaronk or Neutrals along the Niagara River, the Tionontates or Tobacco Nation farther on, the Eries around the present Erie, Pa., the Canastogas, Andastes, or Susquehannocks along

The Five Nations

[1] Long ī. The pronounciation "hē′-a-wah-tha" is a product of misunderstanding. The *ia* represented the "ah-yo" of the original; then others who only knew the later spelling mistook it for the "Continenal" *i*, our *ē*.

the Susquehanna River. The Algonquin Delawares it subjugated, cowed, called "women," and held permanent suzerainty over. All through Pennsylvania as well as New York its favor was vital.

The Middle States tribes

All New Jersey and the Delaware basin was held by the Algonquin Munsis and Delawares. It was in part the overlordship of the Iroquois over the latter, as well as the virtue of the founder and the rectitude of the colonists, which enabled Penn to plant and maintain a non-resistant colony among them. That shrewd statesman bought the favor of the Iroquois, and the Delawares dared not make war without the consent of their awful suzerains. Maryland was occupied by the Nanticokes and Conoys. The most powerful confederation of Virginia was that with its seat at the Indian village of Powhatan, whose name was supposed by the early colonists to be that of its chief, really named Wahunsunacock, the "Powhatan" of our history. This was Algonquin; but a curious migration of a western Sioux swarm had planted through North and South Carolina, with a deep wedge into Virginia, the Catawba, Manahoak, and Monacan confederacies.

The Cherokees and Tuscaroras

The southern Iroquois division of whom we have spoken formed mainly the powerful and considerably civilized confederacy of the Cherokees. These occupied the mountain region of north Georgia, northeastern Alabama, eastern Tennessee and Kentucky, southern West Virginia, western Virginia, North and South Carolina. Along the Tar,

MANDAN: MAH-TO-TOH-PA (FOUR BEARS).
WAR CHIEF.
(Pencil sketch by George Catlin.)

DELAWARE: BOD-A-SIN,
A CHIEF.
(Pencil sketch by George Catlin.)

IROQUOIS (SENECA): RED JACKET,
HEAD CHIEF.
(Pencil sketch by George Catlin.)

CHEROKEE: TUCH-EE OR "DUTCH."
A CHIEF.
(Pencil sketch by George Catlin.)

TYPES OF PURE-BLOODED AMERICAN INDIANS.

(From the collection of Edward E. Ayer, Chicago, by permission.)

Neuse, and Cape Fear Rivers, and Pamlico Sound, led originally by the fish, dwelt in North Carolina and northeastern South Carolina the Tuscaroras and Nottaways, of the same stock.

South of these again, the vast tract from the southern slopes of the Appalachians to the Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Father of Waters, was occupied by powerful confederacies of the Muskhogean stock. These covered nearly all of Alabama and Mississippi, and large parts of Georgia and South Carolina. Chief among them were the Creeks or Muscogees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws: the Choctaws heavy and slow, but amenable to the arts of peace, the Chickasaws quick-witted and active; the Creeks perhaps all in all the highest type. Long after the advent of the whites, a fourth division, called by the others Seminoles or "seceders," separated from the main body, and ousted from north Florida the Timuquanan tribes who had occupied nearly the whole peninsula. Minor bodies were the Apalachi, Alibamu, and Hitchiti; also the well-remembered Yemassee (Yamasi), who were exterminated in the eighteenth century. One territorial division was the "Ukla hannali" or "six towns," a group perpetuated in the Indian Territory to which they were deported, and which has given its name to the Territory and coming State of Oklahoma. The Floridian tribes, scattered bodies with no common head, we have just referred to.

Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles

On the east bank of the Mississippi around Natchez were the Natchez family, a single tribe

with a language unrelated to any other; a fierce and dogged band, who made frightful misery for the French settlements at Biloxi, Mobile, and all that region, till extirpated in the first half of the eighteenth century. At Tonica Bluffs on the other bank was another little isolated group, without determinable relations. But except this, the west bank from somewhat above the Delta to perhaps Baton Rouge, all the rest of Louisiana, a bit of northeastern Texas, western Arkansas and southern Indian Territory, in a solid block, was occupied by the Caddoan families—Pawnees, Caddos, Wichitas, and others. The western side of the Delta was held by the Attakapas and the eastern by the Chetimaches, each a language stock by itself —again illustrating the tenacity with which families held to the fishing grounds where they grew.

The Pawnees, etc.

The giant Sioux stock (Nadowessioux, "enemies" of the Algonquins) is as much identified with the valley of the Missouri as the Iroquois with the St. Lawrence. To this it had annexed that of the Arkansas, and spread along the west bank of the Mississippi from the Algonquin Illinois to Arkansas; then in a thin wedge it had crowded the Caddoans away from that bank down nearly to Baton Rouge. This tremendous family had split into some ten separate grand divisions, and numberless sub-tribes: Dakotas, Assiniboins, Omahas, Quapaws, Arkansas,[1] Osages, Kansas,

The Sioux

[1] Properly Akansa, ah′-kan-sah or ah′kan-saw; the pronunciation "ar-kan′-zas" being a mongrel absurdity, from turning the French silent *s* into the sounded English *s*.

PINAL APACHE: ESKIMINZIN, CHIEF.
(Photograph by W. H. Jackson.)

APACHE: GRAY EAGLE.
(Photograph by W. H. Jackson.)

SIOUX: CHA-TAU-WAH-KO-WAH-MA-NEE
OR LITTLE CROW.
(Pencil sketch by F. B. Mayer.)

SIOUX:
KAU-GHE-MACT-OKAH.
(Photograph by F. B. Mayer.)

TYPES OF PURE-BLOODED AMERICAN INDIANS.
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Ioways, Missouris, Winnebagos, Mandans, Crows (rightfully "hawks") or Arikarees, Tutelos, Biloxis, etc.; and the Virginia and Carolina group already mentioned, river peoples none the less.

The Comanches, Utes, etc.

A fierce and bloody group of low civilization, among the most dreadful scourges of the Western pioneers, were the Shoshonean peoples, lying in a huge block stretching all the way from Oregon, Idaho, and Montana on the north, to California, Utah, and Nevada, on the south, with part of New Mexico and western Texas, and an isolated strip in central California. The best known names of this stock are the Comanches, Utes, and Moquis. In Wyoming and South Dakota were the Kiowa family. In northeastern Colorado lay the Cheyenne and Arapaho, an Algonquin confederacy which had broken away from the main body, and clove its way through hostile stocks till it could move no farther, with the Sioux at its back and the Shoshoneans in front.

The Apaches and Navajos

An immense stock of singularly varied fortunes was the Athapascan, comprising some of the most backward and some of the most virile and even improving tribes on the continent. Its largest and undoubtedly original block was in the interminable moors of arctic British North America and in Alaska, of which it occupied the entire interior and much of the south, but forced away from the coast by others. This portion does not much concern us in the history of the United States, nor was it of high rank in culture. But early in its own history its ablest sections had determined to leave

their cold northern wastes and seek happier climes. Marching southward, dropping here and there small bands who wished to remain, the chief body of emigrants halted somewhere north of Mexico, throve, and spread. Where and what they were, and what they did, is written in letters of blood and horror on all the annals of white settlement in Arizona and New Mexico, Colorado and Utah and western Texas, and even in northern Mexico. It is enough to mention the Apaches, Navajos, and Lipans, to recall what untamable ferocity and untiring purpose they have exhibited. Yet the Navajos have not been backward in the arts of peace: superb horsemen and cattlemen, skillful weavers of blankets, rapidly increasing in numbers, they promise to be among the most adaptable of Indian stocks to civilization.

Apaches, Navajos, etc.

We may mention also the Pimas of southern Arizona and Mexico, and the Yumas of western Arizona and Lower California. Closing our rapid survey of the native stocks and tribal confederacies found here by our earliest settlers, one other observation is of profound interest. Along the California coast was a welter of small separate families, of very low grade, nowhere occupying more than a few miles, in some respects the most interesting part of the continent from an ethnological point of view. Either they were fragments of larger bodies who had fought for a place on the coast, and grown out of language relation with their ancestors; or they were parts of the original immigrants or developed natives, who had retained

The California tribes

their first breeding ground, not mixing with others. In either case, they illustrate the primacy of the fishing interest in savage life. The Selishes, Thlinkeets, etc., of the British American Pacific coast, are outside our scope, though probably a part of the same struggle for the fishing grounds.

There remains to be considered the Orarian or Eskimo division of the American aborigines. *Orarian* signifies a "race of the coast." *Eskimo* means "eater of raw meat." The one word is definitive of geographical position, and the other describes a striking feature in the manner of living peculiar to the given race. The Eskimo have never been known to settle of their own accord more than thirty miles (one day's march) from the coast, and their daily habit is to devour large quantities of raw meat. The term *Orarian* is more appropriate as a descriptive term in ethnic history.

The Eskimo

The race under consideration has had no historical contact with the present white populations of the United States, and is not ethnologically connected with the red ones in any way. Whether or not the Eskimo are the cave men, they are certainly not the ancestors of any Red Indian stocks, even by intermarriage. Their historical expansion has been wholly around the frozen shores of Alaska, British America, and Western Greenland. They are often believed to have been from the first a race of fishermen in icy oceans, to have skirted the glacial ice-cap when it lay far south toward the centre of the

northern continent, and to have followed it as it melted back, leaving the warmer lands to other tribes. In Alaska and in the Northwestern Territories of the British dominions, tribes of Eskimo are found as far north as the seventieth parallel of latitude.

Indian characteristics

Thus much, in brief, for the general distribution of our aboriginal races north of Mexico. We now turn to consider their ethnic characteristics and something of their history. Their principal industry was hunting, and their principal ambition was war. The nations of the central parts of the continent were as warlike as any barbarous people of whom we have knowledge. Rarely was there a general and lasting peace. The prevalence of the hunting life tends ever to hostility; for the hunter must have one place for residence, and another place for his active pursuit. He requires for his home and village an open country of glade and sunshine. For his hunting-grounds he demands vast forests and solitudes. He will prize the latter more than the former. In the districts of good hunting, tribe will meet tribe, and the one must go back before the other. The solitary woods will be the haunts of silence and suspicion. The stinging arrow will fly into the thicket, and man and beast will fall together.

Given a century of this discipline, and the Indian character will be fully formed. A time will come, under such conditions, when peace will be tame and the excitement of war a necessity.

And so it was with the Red Men of central North America. When the Europeans arrived and took note of events, they found the Indians at war. There does not appear to have been much private man-killing, but of tribal warfare there was an everlasting recurrence. The warrior fought for his tribe, and the other warrior fought for his tribe; for both were children of the tribe. Under the system of polyandrous marriage (as we shall presently see), every man had a known mother, but he was the son of the tribe. Since he might not know who his individual father was, he had the tribe for his father. All of his uncles were his fathers, and all of *their* uncles were *their* fathers. Each man had for his sons the sons of the tribe; and all the sons were nephews. The descent was in the female line, and by this the tribe was consolidated and all the tribal sentiments were intensified.

Tribal organization

The manner of war among the Indians was cruel even to savagery. There was no code of warfare that rose above the bloody passions of the tribes engaged. Treachery was a military art, and the ambush was grand strategy. Prisoners were at the will of the captors; surrender did not save from death; victory did not end the slaughter. The dead of the enemy were mutilated, and captives condemned by the council-fire might be burned to death with the added horrors of slow torture. Nor did the fact that the Indians were sometimes in league with the European colonists against other colonists, and therefore might

Mode of warfare

be expected to learn the rules of war, greatly improve the manners and principles of the natives. They did at length cease to burn their prisoners, not on the score of mercy and humanity, but for the reason that they learned the great advantage of holding their captives for ransom.

Stages in Indian war history

The war history of the Indians presents five stages. In the first place, when St. Augustine was founded, the neighboring nations, when hostile to one another, sought the alliance of the Spaniards, and by this means the favored tribe would suppress its native enemies. On the north, in the times of Champlain, when that stalwart invader sought to confirm the French establishment, he found the natives at war among themselves, and he felt constrained to take sides with one party against the other. And this was the *first* aspect of affairs after the Europeans secured a footing in America.

Attitude of European nations

When the English colonists at length intruded between the Spaniards on the south and the French on the north, the war game took a broader and more comprehensive plan. The English came bringing their ancient hatreds with them. The difficulties of the Indian situation were increased. The chieftains had to rise to the level of diplomacy. In the first place they found out that the French would keep faith with them; that the Spaniards would keep faith with them sometimes; that the English would keep faith with them when it was to their interest to do so. The head men of the various Indian nations acted

accordingly. They kept faith with the French, lied to the Spaniards, and tomahawked the English. This was the second aspect of Indian war history.

Such was the prevailing mood during the Intercolonial wars. These wars ended in the expulsion of France and the virtual expulsion of Spain from the eastern parts of North America. The natives found themselves face to face with England, whom they dreaded most. Meanwhile the American colonies tended rapidly to independence, and already signs were seen of oncoming war. The Indians saw the colonists near by and aggressive. They saw England far off and powerful. Therefore they sided with England. The warriors who had followed Beaujeu, St. Pierre, and Montcalm, in the war for New France, were within fifteen years found under the banners of Carleton and Burgoyne, fighting for the British supremacy. The third and fourth stages in the war history of the Indians showed them in the attitude of siding first with the French against the English *and* the American colonists, and secondly, fighting *with* the British *against* the Americans in the hope of exterminating the latter.

Indians in colonial wars

Always during the French and Indian war, and during our War of Independence, the old, ineradicable feuds among the native races continued to prevail. In the intercolonial battles, Indians of different tribes might be found in the opposing forces. During the Revolution, the Americans had a few of the natives as allies.

After independence, the ancient quarrels of the Indians did not abate. Strenuous efforts were made by celebrated chieftains to build up an Indian confederation sufficiently powerful to prevent the further spread of the whites into the West. This was the settled policy of the great warriors and prophets who flourished in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the last century.

Subsequent Indian history

But the tribal feuds were always fatal to the confederative work of the leaders; and to the present day such is the aspect of the question. As late as the first years following the Civil War, it had been possible to combine the great nations of the West (some of whom singly could muster as many warriors as there were soldiers of the regular army stationed in that region) in a confederation under a military dictator having the genius of Tecumseh, which might have overrun the United States west of the Mississippi. But not even the hope of expelling the white race from the hunting grounds of their fathers could overcome the everlasting feuds of the Indian tribes, and the lack of any settled future to which they could look. They lost successive chances of combination, until at last they saw themselves surrounded with powerful commonwealths, the bulwarks of which it was henceforth and forever impossible to break.

The Indian nations had regular methods of beginning and ending their wars. The tribal organization was the military as well as the civil

unit of authority. When several tribes were united in a nation or commonwealth, then the nation by its chiefs in grand council decided all questions of war and peace. To dig up the hatchet was to go to war; to bury the hatchet was to make peace. There were many barbaric formalities. The chiefs were the representatives of their various bands. The assembly of chiefs was called the council. Before the council there was freedom of debate. If the warrior were also an orator, his power was great. In his speech, he might recount the traditions of the nation. He might tell of the heroic deeds of his ancestors. He might appeal in the name of the illustrious chiefs and prophets who had honored and led his people. In the main his harangue was for justice—justice and revenge. His claim was that the enemy had broken faith. The enemy had violated a compact. The enemy had claimed an unjust boundary line, and was thus an aggressor. For a thousand moons the law of the Indians had been so and so. Now that law was broken. The enemy had unjustly gone to war. He had slain the young men of the nation now in council. The death of the braves should be avenged. The Indian was a man; he would not forget a kindness or forgive an insult. Therefore let the war-dance be celebrated; let the war-path be found and followed.

Formalities of war-making

In all this there was much rude eloquence. Another chief might take the other side of the question. For days the debate in the council-

house might be continued. At last the vote would be taken. The war-club was passed from hand to hand. If the chieftain struck the end on the ground, his vote was affirmative of the thing proposed. If he passed the club to the next without striking, the vote was negative; and the majority determined the issue. If the vote was for war, little preparation was needed; for the Indians were all hunters, and war was the man-hunt, noblest of all hunting.

Indian war tactics

Of munitions there was no common supply. Each brave must equip and provide himself. There was no baggage train, no impedimenta. There was no commissary, no sutler. There was no recruiting station, only a place of rendezvous; and the campaign should begin with the dark of the moon. Silent was the march and stealthy each warrior's tread. No bugle, but only the weird call of the prophet announced the beginning of the battle. Then came the barbaric yells, the war-whoops, and by these the ebb and flow of the fight were known. Generally, with the first shock, the one army or the other was broken and then stampeded; the greatest slaughter was in the hunt of fugitives. The battle was without quarter, and the defeat (if there was defeat) was total.

The Indian courage

Common fame has ascribed to the Indians great courage. The claim is not well founded. Few men of any race willingly expose their lives. To this day, the courage of civilized soldiers in battle is supported by many barbaric artifices.

The drum is without doubt an inheritance from savagery. The band-playing is a device to inspire and confirm the charge. The bugle's blare rouses the soldier, and the flag at the head of the column stands for home and country. All this, if not absolutely necessary, is a powerful auxiliary of battle. Indeed, it is not certain, but rather doubtful, that war could be made without them. In lands where human sacrifices are made, drums are beaten to drown the cries of the victims—and war is human sacrifice.

Mechanical stimuli to bravery

The Indians, like all other races in this respect, sought by noise and tumult and bravado to frighten the enemy into flight. Sometimes, but rarely, they stood and fought. Under Tecumseh at the Thames, they gathered to the number of more than twelve hundred, and took undaunted the American rifle blast until their leader's cry was hushed in death. But as a rule they would not make open battle. They could not. Their principles in war rested on the basis of deception and treachery. They took, so to speak, the code of Grotius, which permitted all kinds of craft, perfidy only excepted, and added perfidy. Knowing themselves unequal in weaponry to the ever-aggressive whites, they strove by cunning and ambush to do what they could not do in the open field.

Indian war code

In some respects the Indian war code was superior to that of the higher races. Our natives never deliberately waged war for conquest. They were not even incited to battle by the hope of

plunder. It is doubtful whether the chiefs in the council-house ever referred to the spoils of the enemy as a motive for going to war. It is true, there was little they could seize or utilize. War was nearly always undertaken legitimately for the redress of grievances. Such grievances were generally private and personal at the first; but that which was private and personal widened like an inflammation until the whole tribal and national body would be involved, so that there was always excuse for the war they loved.

Indian weapons

The Indian weapons of war were ineffective—save as against an enemy armed in like manner. The arrow with its cruel point and feathered shaft was not to be despised; but the arrow was not a bullet. The Indian bow was strong and skillfully made. The arrow point was of bone, until the use of iron was learned from the whites. The stone arrow-point was much used, but the points of this character were generally *found* by the natives; they were appropriated from the relics of their palæolithic predecessors. To what extent the Red Indians were capable in the manufacture of chipped-stone implements has never been completely and authentically investigated. The stone spear-heads which they constantly used in fishing, though rarely in war, were the finds of a former age.

The tomahawk, upon which the Indians greatly relied when engaged at close quarters, was made of stone, or more rarely of copper or iron. The stone implement was of the smooth

or polished pattern. It was worked into shape by the native artificer by rubbing the selected piece of stone on another stone of grinding quality. The tomahawk was shaped like a hatchet. The pole was generally sharpened to a point, and was made to pass through the end of the wooden helve. The fastening was nearly always effected with the tendons of animals. The Indians had great skill in making secure fastenings in this manner. The blade of the tomahawk was mostly used, but the pole also was employed for certain operations where fracture rather than cutting was required. The handle of the weapon was from eighteen inches to two feet in length. This was inserted in the warrior's belt, and was always at hand. It might be thrown to a distance with considerable precision. The warrior could cast his tomahawk so that it would whirl over and over, strike with the blade, and remain imbedded in the thing aimed at.

The tomahawk

In the later development of the Indian arts, their implement-makers acquired some skill in the use of the metals. To the warrior, an iron scalping-knife was a treasure. In the Columbian age, stone knives were universally used by the natives. With his stone knife, rudely shaped, but generally so made as to furnish a fairly good cutting edge, the hunter could skin the slain animal, and the warrior could cut away the scalp of his enemy. In the domestic arts, knives and many small implements such as needles and combs and bits of apparatus for weaving, and other pieces

Indian knives

for dressing hides, to say nothing of implements for cookery, were used according to the needs of the wigwam or the hut.

Building arts

Of building art, the Indian possessed little or none. A cunning handicraft was shown by the warrior in the construction of his lodge; but there was no real architectural achievement. Nor is the reason for this difficult to apprehend. Architecture is the great art of men associated. It implies society. It implies, in particular, the conjoint effort of many men in a common effort. All of this was sternly negatived by the genius of the Indian races. Their positive sense of individuality would not permit them to co-operate. The Indian folks would not organize into society. Each warrior stood alone as a unit. What he could do for his individual benefit he did. His commerce was as individual as his lodge. Only in war, and to a limited degree in the chase, would he co-operate with his fellows.

When it came to building, the warrior constructed for himself. Rarely did several Indians work together in building a house. True, the tribal council-house was of heavier materials and larger dimensions than could be managed by one warrior or two. The log huts, also, which were used for individual dwellings and were freely combined in villages and towns by the men of the Six Nations, and by some others of our central races, required the combined effort of several workmen to construct them. For the rest, the wigwam was the work of one warrior and

his squaw. He selected his own ground, cut the poles, peeled the bark from the trees, got his ropes and thongs, and built according to his skill. The skins of animals were much used for all kinds of coverings. Not the body only, but the couch, the floor, and the roof of the wigwam, were furnished with skins—plentifully, if skins abounded; scantily, if they were scarce.

The wigwam

The rude lodges of the Indians, framed of poles, converging at the top, shaped like a cone, open above for the exit of smoke, and open at one side for the entrance of the family, have been many times described in special treatises on Indian life and manners. So also have the Indian garments and method of equipment been described or pictured a thousand times. It was the custom of all our aborigines to smear their bodies with high-colored pigments, giving various effects to the countenance and the person. The warriors painted themselves more elaborately and brilliantly than did the squaws. Vermilion and yellow ochre were the favorite colors. Always in battle and generally in the chase, the warrior was seen in full regalia, and painted as to his face and body. He respected himself in this particular, and conformed to the usages of his fathers. The general aim and purpose of this manner was to give to the features of the brave a severe and fear-inspiring aspect. Always serious was the warrior; his occasional smile was so grim and sardonic that it conveyed a notion of scorn and contempt rather than of mirthfulness. In the

Painting the body

social life of the tribe, however, where there was no object in keeping up appearances, the Indian had a coarse and crude sense of fun strongly developed.

Garments

The Indian garments also are well known from numberless descriptions. Much skill was displayed by the women in the manufacture of articles of dress, but the style was nothing to seek. Much of the person was exposed by the imperfect covering of the dress. The garments were for the most part manufactured from the dressed skins of animals. They were ornamented and painted by many arts of the native makers. On the Canadian border of the United States, in the far West, in the Indian Territory, and indeed in every place where our wild men still have their habitation, the practice of the domestic and economic arts may yet be seen just as centuries ago. Only in a few instances have the tribesmen and tribeswomen thrown away their ancient fancies as to dress and household economy to adopt the garments and manner of the master race.

Social system

In this connection something may be added as to the Indian social system. This was based upon a peculiar marriage relation, which was never properly developed until the subject was investigated by Professor Lewis H. Morgan, who gave his conclusions and deductions to the public in the XVIIth volume of the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.* Professor Morgan ascertained definitely what had hitherto been

known only in part, namely, that the general marriage system of the Indians was polyandry. This system appears on the surface to be simply the counterpart of polygamy, but the underlying principles and the inevitable results of the two systems are as different as can be imagined.

In polygamous marriage one man takes many wives, and he becomes the patriarch of a *clan;* for the sons also by multiple marriage develop enormous families, all of which centre in the *patriarch.* Such organizations are common in the Eastern countries. The patriarchal clan is characterized by known fatherhood, and by indifference as to motherhood. Polygamy

But in polyandry the case is reversed, and the consequences are striking. In this case, the woman is married to the *tribe.* The immediate result is an unknown fatherhood, but a known motherhood for all the offspring. This fact establishes the line of descent and fixes the family on the mother's side. It condenses the tribe, so to speak, and intensifies it to the last degree; for every male child born in the tribe is the son of the tribe, and every female child is the daughter of the tribe. Every child is the son or daughter of a particular mother, but *not* of a particular father; it is around the female line that all the tribal instincts, sentiments, and passions are developed. Polyandry

As a result, the warriors fight for the *tribe,* and the squaws assume the motherhood of the *tribe.* They also become the servants of the tribe.

Each man is a master, and each squaw is a slave. This relation must account for the complete subjection of the Indian women and the complete freedom of the men. As a rule, all of the work, the toil, the drudgery, of the household and of the tribe, was performed by the squaws. It was not befitting that a brave should work. To him all toil (though not all exposure) seemed to be the part of menials. What the warrior did in the way of work, he generally did by the proxy of his squaw. Upon her he threw the whole burden of the toil and economies that belonged to his lodge or his village.

Women did the menial work

It was the duty of the brave to hunt and bring home his game; to fish and bring home his catch; to destroy his enemies and bring home their scalps. The rest remained to the squaw. She must cook the game; she must prepare whatever foods were served; she must care for the pappooses; she must cut the wood and bear the water and cultivate the few vegetables produced in the Indian fields. She must harness herself, and bear burdens, and draw rude sledges through the snow, and be a slave, and say naught in complaint or rebellion to her saturnine and indolent lord. It is fair to remember that the need of instant readiness to fight, and of perpetual vigilance, were incompatible with menial toil; and that the Iroquois council of matrons implies a real freedom under the outward serfdom. And hunting game or watching for enemies for days and sleepless nights, under the fearful northern

The men's share

blasts and in the drifted snows, as the part of the braves, was work of a very real kind.

Hunting life one of solitude

These features of the aboriginal family in America have been narrated in many books. and illustrated in every kind of pictorial and plastic art. Perhaps the prevailing fact of Indian life was solitude. The life of the nomad is always solitary, but the American condition favored and intensified what seems to have been the natural bent of the aboriginal race. The hunt took the warriors forth on their several ways. The hunt carried them far into the interminable woods. The hunt left them alone, and the hunt enforced the mood of silence.

Individual and social life

On the whole, the individual and social life of the Indian is difficult to realize. He was averse to agriculture, and therefore he left the face of nature undisturbed. His clearings were natural glades or the results of fire. If he had the plains for his habitat, he found himself there in an open solitude as vast as the shadowed solitude of the forests. In his pursuits he had respect always to his wants, and these were never inflamed or magnified with ulterior ambitions. He had no dream of commerce. His imagination was not filled with the visions of progress. He cared nothing for improvement. He believed profoundly in his fathers, and walked in their ways. He had the self-determining instincts of the Teuton, but these were coupled with the conservatism of the Chinese and the stoicism of the Hindu. His foresight was weak, and he was not

anxious about permanent results, which indeed he could not have assured.

The Indian character

The emotions and passions of the Indian were few, but powerful. When he was moved by his feelings, his guttural tones quivered under the stress within; and when his passions stirred, his face was distorted. Of sympathy and affection he gave small sign. He was a stoic, but not a philosopher. He was capable of sport, but liked war better. His amusements were few, his appetite for stimulants ferocious, and his pipe his principal solace. The effect of tobacco he knew so well that he prepared himself by its use for the great duties of the council-house, and with it he ratified his treaties.

His treaties were not broken; he kept his pledges: but that could hardly be said of the races with which he had to deal in his contest for the possession of the continent. This brings us to the consideration of Indian ethics in general. Our aborigines had a profound sense of right and wrong. Their notion of justice and injustice made deep fissures in the rock of their conduct. The ethical code was indeed the code of the barbarian; but the barbarian was true to it and to his own nature. When the Indian dissembled, he did it as a measure of hostility. In war he was a professed hypocrite; but professed hypocrisy becomes akin to good faith, as spies in war are but honest soldiers. It is the dissembling hypocrite of peace, and not the known hypocrite of war, who is under the ban forever.

In the age of the discovery of America, the Spaniards found the aborigines of the south much given to the recital of hyperbolical stories. They gave the invaders prodigious fictions about the wealth and greatness of the country. They told of fabulous cities and impossible treasures of gold. In these recitals, a different mood was shown from that which possessed the tribes with which the English colonists came into contact in the central parts of the continent, one or two centuries later. Perhaps the southern Indians lost their moral footing with the discovery that they could please the dangerous strangers with the invention of golden lies.

Indian romancing

It has been claimed that the Indian method of warfare was excessively barbarous and cruel. The whole world has been well informed of the ferocious and bloody incursions of the Indians upon the whites. But it should be remembered that the whites have always recorded and told the story. Two things should therefore be borne in mind; first, that the story has ever been an exaggerated recital; and secondly, that the antecedent causes of the atrocity have ever been omitted from the account.

Of the general talents and capacities of the Indians, much of interest might be said; but the question is difficult. Since the mind is immeasurable, no one may say with certainty *how much* intellectual ability any given people may possess. To estimate the genius of the Indians by their works would be to do them an injustice; for they

Mental capacity and traits

had no monumental or literary ambitions. The solitary spirit of the Red Man was not sufficiently diffusive to make a fame. The talents of the Indians were manifested in only a few modes of activity, and by these only may we judge of the genius of the race.

Indian craft

Our aborigines were cunning. They had a keen discernment. They could not be easily deceived. They believed in craft—and practiced it. Their life work was the hunt—and to hunt is to outwit. He who takes game *must know how*. It is strategy. The creatures are wild. Their senses are ever on the alert. To approach them requires stealth. What after many generations would be the aggregate effect of this manner of life? The child of such heredity would be cunning from birth. He would know instinctively how to creep upon his game; and man, the noblest of game, would not escape him.

Intellect and judgment

In perception and judgment the Indian intellect compared—and still compares—favorably with the average of the second-class races. Our native was capable of seeing things as they are, of combining premises, and deducing logical conclusions. His reasoning powers were sufficiently cogent; only when his interest and right were assailed, only when his passions were aroused, did he become blind to fact and reckless of results. All of the Indian's intellectual products were flecked and permeated with the ethics of the race,—this for the reason that his logic and philosophy were applied only to the world of conduct.

How to act was a main question with the Indian, but what things *are* did not concern him greatly. He was acquainted with many phenomena of nature, but his system of natural philosophy did not rise above the horizon of a barbaric understanding.

Inter-tribal conceptions

The situation of the tribes, whose numbers were legion, tended to develop a rude, half-savage internationality. There were many tribal relations, and these furnished the strongest subject matter of Indian reflection and argument. The mind of our native displayed its powers to the best advantage when considering the affairs of the tribe, and in discovering the best policy to promote the tribe's interest. This field of intellectual effort did not reach as high as ambitious dreaming and scheming to the end of the supremacy of one tribe or nation over all the rest. The aspiration was rather of a feudal character, tending to make the tribe or clan secure in its individuality first of all, and in its independence and influence afterwards.

Intellectual classes

This was the situation which produced one group of medicine men and prophets, and another group of orators. These constituted the intellectual classes. There was nothing to impede the man of intellect in coming to the fore, and in making his influence felt as a directive force in the affairs of the nation. The leading warrior was himself (as a rule) an orator, and perhaps he was a prophet also. The chief must always be able to explain the reasons of his leadership.

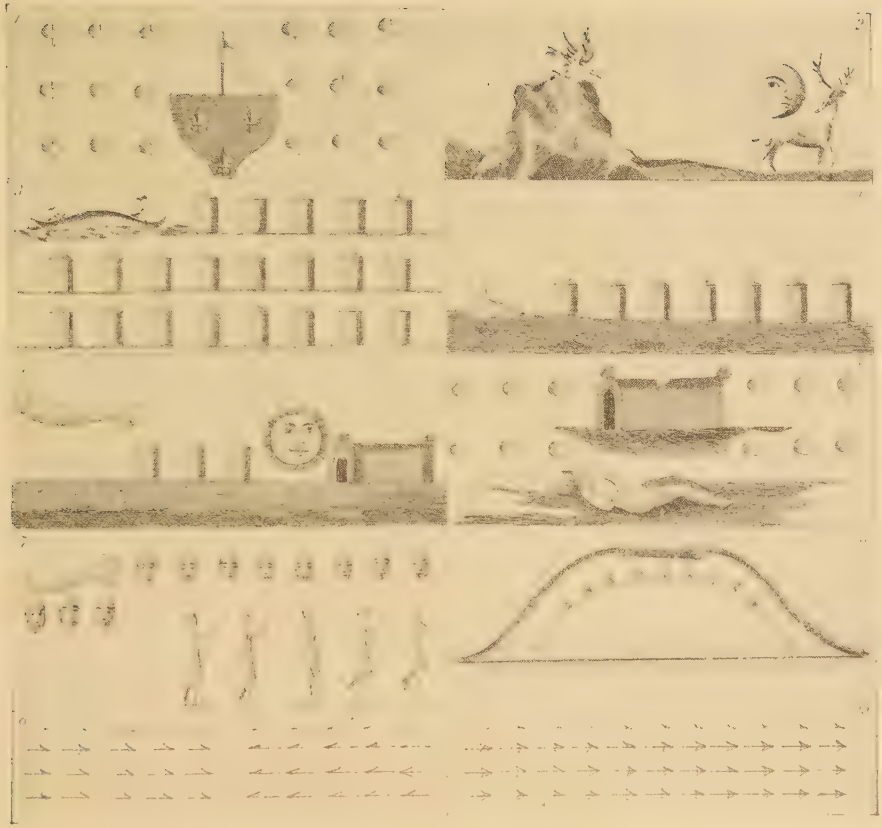
He must speak of his plan and purpose. He must propose one thing and reject the opposite. He must not permit any young man of the tribe to outspeak him or to have greater range of information—otherwise the young man would be chief.

Rudimental literature

All of these conditions tended to produce an oral lore, a spoken statecraft. among the Indians. As for literature, our natives had it not, though they had the rudiments. They had mythology and tradition. They had an imperfect system of writing. They occasionally showed the foregleams of historical desire; for they made a few inscriptions and set up a few memorials. There was, however, no education or system of training having for its object the development and regulation of the intellectual faculties. The system of instruction included only that kind of gymnastic training which was reckoned essential to the success of the young Indian in following and emulating the example of his fathers.

The general result

Even such instruction as this was communicated by example rather than by precept. The children and youth of the Indians had a hereditary aptitude for imitating and acquiring the skill and activities of their elders. What the young Indians witnessed, they learned to do in turn. The volume of knowledge and the science of practical life was hardly increased by the contribution of successive generations. For the rest, the traditional lore, including the myth and the religion of the tribe, was taught orally by the chief men to their juniors.



AN INDIAN GAZETTE

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF A WAR EXPEDITION.

1. Each pinwheel character means ten; hatchet over French blazon means raising the hatchet in favor of France, done by 18 tens or 180 Indians.

2. Bird taking wing from mountain, and quarter-shaded moon over buck, mean the bands leaving Montreal in the first quarter of the buck moon (July).

3. They went by canoe and were 21 days on the passage (21 shelters to pass the nights in).

4. Then traveled seven days on foot.

5. Reaching an English town (well-built house with chimneys) at sunrise (sun east of them beginning his daily round), they lay in wait three days (huts and pointing hand).

6. Surprised their enemies, 12 tens in number, asleep (man lying down), by breaking in through the roofs (hole in top of house).

7. Killed eleven (club and heads) and took five prisoners.

8. Lost nine of their own (heads within bow or emblem of honor), but no prisoners, which would be a disgrace (pedestals empty).

9. There was a sharp battle (arrows flying in opposite directions).

10. The enemy fled (arrows flying all one way).

In a few cases our aborigines progressed beyond the limitations here indicated. As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Creeks, the Cherokees, and a few other nations, had developed phonetic alphabets, and had learned to some extent the art of writing. They had also become builders. They had schools in which the youth were taught such elements of learning as the given nation had acquired. This stage of evolution had been reached at the time when the enforced migration of the more enlightened nations to trans-Mississippi territories was effected.

Progressive tribes

At the present time, the natives of the Indian Territory may be studied in an aspect still more advanced than were their ancestors of the time of the migration. The best of our natives have gradually adopted the manners and usages of the whites. They have reached the settled stage of ethnic development. They are farmers and villagers. Their garments approximate the style of Americans and Europeans. Several towns of considerable importance have grown up under the changed and changing conditions. The nomadic life in its old wild aspects recedes more and more, and it is possible that the Indian nature will ultimately undergo the second growth of man, and enter the state known as the civilized life.

In Indian Territory

Returning to the natives as they were in the eighteenth century. we find among them only the rudiments of those institutions by which civilization is distinguished from barbarism. First of

all, there was the rudiment of *society*. Notwithstanding the unsociable manners of the Indians, they had nevertheless their social functions. They had their feasts, not a few, at which the people of the tribe gathered, and in which they participated with a wild abandon. There the sports of the nation were celebrated. There were the racing and wrestling contests; and why should not the higher reason see in these sports the possible germs of a development like the games of the Greeks?

Indian social status

Such assemblies of our natives were barbecues. There the great game was prepared in abundance. There the smell of roasted buffalo pervaded the forest round about. There the green corn, hardening for the grater, was converted into meal or mush by the squaws. There the piping cry of pappooses was heard as they sported about the wigwam. There the Indian ponies neighed, and there the half-animal guffaw of the warriors burst out in barbaric hilarity at some grand stroke of the young men's sport. There, when the tent fires were kindled, the dances were performed. One was the war-dance, another was the buffalo-dance, a third was the corn-dance, a fourth was the night-and-day dance. There was beating of drums, there was bounding about and grunting and chanting by the painted warriors. Sometimes for weeks together this social and tribal reunion and communion would continue. Then the weird pageant would dissolve, and only the trodden grass, the charred

traces of camp fires, and the broken bones of animals would remain to mark the scene of the festivities.

Indian religion

The religious institutions of the Indian races were less idolatrous than might have been expected. Fundamentally there was the recognition of a Great Spirit who was the Ruler and possibly the Creator of all things. But with this bottom notion were blended a thousand myths and superstitions. The whole system was in strong analogy with that of the northeastern Asiatics. The Indian faith recognized the universal *presence* of the Great Spirit in nature; for He was not over and above Nature, but in it; and the Great Spirit revealed himself especialy in this thing or that. He was seen in mountain and prairie and river. His voice was heard in the moaning of the forests and the whisper of the breezes. Especially did the Great Spirit send messages to his children through the agency of living creatures. The birds and the beasts told the warriors what were the purposes of Manitou the Mighty. The wild creatures, therefore, had a wisdom greater than their own. And the medicine man by listening attentively might learn much from the cry of the night-hawk or the policy of the beaver. There thus arose a religious lore including in its details everything in nature from the nest of the ant to the home of the grizzly bear and the eyrie of the eagle; from the bush to the mountain; from the smoldering ember to the highest cloud of heaven. All seasons had their

signs, and all actions had their determining antecedents in the spirit world.

Medicine men

The Indians, however, had no professional priests. The medicine man was the nearest approach to the priestly character. The medicine man was erudite in determining the signs and tokens of the invisible will, and his influence with the tribe was frequently paramount; but he could not be regarded as a priest. In fact every warrior was his own priest. Most of the Indians prayed in times of emergency; but each did the religious duty for himself. It is doubtful whether the warrior's prayer and sacrifice included even them of his own wigwam. He freely made burnt offerings of things most dear to him, and he openly professed his expectation that the Great Spirit would thus enter into contract with him to take care of his interests and protect him in the day of trouble.

Indian prayers

Sometimes the sacrifices were cast into the water or buried in the earth. In this way, the river and the ground would be made propitious. The Indian's prayer was as sincere as it was business-like. He prayed for what he wanted. He called upon Manitou to give him success in hunting, to put the fat bear in his way, to show him the place of the wild turkey, to keep him from the rattlesnake's den, to give him the scalp of his enemy, to make him strong and swift of foot, to send his arrow to the mark, to keep back the snow-drift in winter, and to guide his canoe into smooth water away from the splitting rocks of the rapids.

Among the Indians existed the rudiments of law and civil life, but there was little development of either. Law extended no further than tribal usage as handed down from the fathers. Civil life included only the customs of the village, the definitions of hunting-grounds, the rules of the chase, and inter-tribal rights and precedents. Within the tribe there were few civil or political difficulties. The right of property was observed. Theft was rare, and good faith was kept among the lodges.

Law and civil life

These rudimentary institutions of the Indian peoples were dear to them. The long observance of their customs, the immemorial respect in which their traditions were held, constituted the common law of the race, and no other people observed the common law more faithfully. The Indians in their intercourse with the invading race always appealed to their laws and usages, and thereby justified their conduct and policy. To them it seemed monstrous that their immemorial usages should by the whites be brushed aside as of no effect.

Thus, for example, the Indians sought in accordance with their own law to maintain their theory of real estate. To them the territory was a tribal or national possession; therefore no man could alienate other than his own right. He could quitclaim so far as *his* title was concerned, but as to fee-simple that was impossible. Even the chiefs of a nation could cede the lands only under a life title; that is, they could transfer their

Indian conservatism

own rights, but not the rights of posterity. Here was a rock of offense. The whites supposed that they could purchase and get fee-simple; but the Indian notion of transfer reached no further than quitclaim. Perhaps a majority of all the wars between the invading Europeans and the aborigines arose out of the different construction of land title by the two parties concerned.

Indian idea of landholding

The Indian idea of real estate was based on utility. It was the usufruct which the Indian claimed to own. He had the right of occupancy and use. He might hunt or fish within the lands of the tribal possessions. He might build his lodge in any unoccupied place. His lodge was the expression and in some sense the title of all the ownership of which he was capable. On the decease of the owner his rights, whatever they might be, reverted to the tribe. His personality, however, was his own to an intense degree. Hardly would his nearest kinsman claim the accoutrements and belongings of the dead warrior. It was better that these should be buried with him, for they were *his—his* in the invisible world as much as in the world of sense. There, too, he might need them. There, as well as here, his weapons would be useful. There, as well as here, he must build his lodge, and follow the chase, and perhaps meet the enemy. But there the hunting-grounds were happy and the summer-time unending.

Language may be regarded as the universal function of mankind. The greater number of

human institutions have language for their bottom fact. For language is the expression of reason, and institutions are but the tangible evidences of the working forces of reason in the human race. Moreover, language is significantly commensurate with the institutions of mankind. Nor do human institutions ever extend beyond boundaries of speech. For this reason, the great races have vast vocabularies and flexible forms of speech. For this reason also, those races whose languages are inflexible have limited institutions, are unprogressive and semi-barbaric. Human language is so variable in its expansiveness—so meagre and rigid in some of its developments, and in other cases so efflorescent and fruitful—that the institutions of mankind are forced into the same variability of evolution.

Language in general

The Indian languages belong to the monosyllabic agglutinative division, formerly called Turanian, at present not grouped as one. But it has well-marked characteristics. The words are of one syllable, and are never inflected. The words are necessarily of a narrow but intense signification. They designate the concrete objects of the natural world and the simple actions of living creatures. They are strong in nominal and verbal, but particularly weak in descriptive, characteristics. They are wanting in abstract terms, but the specific element is superabundant. From the absence of inflection—that is, the want of declension, conjugation, comparison of adjectives and adverbs, and polysyllabic variability—

Indian languages

these languages are forced to adopt the expedient of periphrastic combination. That is, the monosyllabic words are combined or joined together, as if with hyphens, so that one part may have a modifying influence on the other part, thus producing by a labored circumlocution the complex meaning intended.

Class of Indian languages

Another peculiarity of the monosyllabic languages, of which the Indian tongues are conspicuous examples, is the necessary interchangeability of parts. That is, the same word must answer to different offices. All languages have this quality to a limited extent. No language refuses to permit the same word from serving in some cases as noun or verb. But in the agglutinative monosyllabic tongues, the principle is almost universal. The given word may serve as a noun or verb, as adjective or adverb, as preposition or conjunction,—all this according to the relation in which it is placed.

The characteristic skill of this class of mind consists in its power of shifting and recombining the monosyllables in such a way that the aggregate effect may carry new thought on its mission. The process, however, is always labored, and the result always likely to be involved in obscurity. For this reason the orators and bards—if bards there be—of such races are likely to be misunderstood; their outpourings are difficult of certain interpretation. Among our native American tongues, the agglutinative feature was very pronounced. It was more pronounced toward the

north than among the central and southern races. The Eskimo [1] presented the characteristic in full force; but the stoical and half-silent warriors of the central part of the continent would hardly make the effort necessary in the production of a new linguistic compound.

No abstract Indian words

One or two features of Indian speech seem to require particular elucidation. The concrete terms were numerous and strongly specific in their meanings. The Indian mind was especially weak in generalization. The process of abstraction seemed to present peculiar difficulties. Thus, for example, there was an almost total deficit of abstract nouns. The Indian languages had no word for "animal" or "tree" or "river," to say nothing of words for "creature" or "vegetable" or "fluid." Every noun was the name of *some specific thing:* as, for example, the-bird-with-the-red-spot-on-its-breast, the-creek-which-makes-a-bend-and-widens-out, the-tree-which-spreads-like-a-squaw-and-has-white-branches. Again, the Indian would speak of killing-his-enemy-with-a-tomahawk, of taking-fish-by-pounding-the-ice-with-

[1] "The language of that people (the Eskimo) is capable of forming a periphrastical compound expression, or word, which, in its sense, is equivalent to a whole complex or compound sentence in English. Thus, for instance, the Greenland Eskimo are accustomed to give to inquirers one of their favorite long words, as follows: *Suvigiksiniarto-kasuaromaryotittogog.* This is equivalent in sense to the English sentence, "He says that you will go away quickly in like manner and buy a pretty knife!" It is well to add, in order that the reader may further understand the spirit of the above expression, the order in English words. It is as follows: "A-knife-pretty-buy-go-away-hasten-wilt-in-like-manner-then-also-he-says."—Ridpath's *Great Races of Mankind,* Vol. IV., p. 480.

a-war-club, of catching-a-yellow-hammer-with-a-snare-of-horsehair, etc. But the generalized ideas, so easily expressed in flexible languages by such words as *bird, stream, tree, to kill, to fish, to trap,* the Indian tongue and the Indian thought behind the tongue could not reach.

Social classification of dialects

Another peculiarity of the native languages was the specific division of the vocabulary into different classes of words and expressions according to the rank and character of the speaker. Thus, for example, a given tribal dialect was not the same when spoken by the chieftain as when spoken by his squaw. Each understood the other, but the chieftain spoke a "noble language" as distinguished from the "squaw language" spoken by the woman. The children of the Indian lodge were not permitted to use "brave" words until they had passed into the "brave" period of development. Thus, in the household would be heard, not indeed two or three dialects, but the same dialect with variant vocabularies and idioms. Many of the forms of speech were common to all the members of the village, but many other forms belonged exclusively to certain personages and certain ranks. Such special phrases and words and constructions were the preserves of those who used them, and there must be no poaching—else the existing order might be disturbed, and anarchy be introduced in place of the established society.

For the obsolete term *Turanian,* Professor Lewis H. Morgan has suggested the word *Ganowanian* as a true definitive term for the American

races. This word is in analogy with the word *Aryan*, usually derived from the root *Ar*, signifying to plow; that is, the Aryan races are so called because they are *the races who plow*. The term Ganowanian is derived from *Gano*, bow, and *Wano*, arrow; that is, the word applied to a race signifies men of the bow and arrow. This might well suffice for an ethnic term, since the bow was emphatically the prevailing, if not the universal, weapon of our aborigines.

Personal appearance

Little need be added respecting the personal appearance, the bodily attributes and mannerisms, of the Indians. The race remains on our continent, is not diminished in numbers, or inconspicuous from distance. In the easy movements of the age, Indians may be seen by the people of almost every American town. Their features and characteristics are well known and strongly marked. The Indians, however, varied greatly in personal appearance. The people of some of the nations were unusually tall and lithe. Some were really majestic in figure and bearing. Red Cloud and the members of his band, traveling through the States and cities of the Union, have been looked on with wonder. Such forms! Such features! Such saturnine countenances and expressions of severe self-control, amounting to an *ensemble* which the greatest artist could hardly hope to reproduce!

On the other hand, most of the wild Indians were of only medium height; many were low and coarse, and had a squatting gait. The color of the

skin ranges from a black-brown through the several hues of copper or dull red to a light mulatto or sun-bronzed white. All of these complexions may be seen among our surviving aborigines. Nor will the reader's interest be sustained with further descriptions of the well-known characteristics of our native peoples, since he may study and observe for himself.

Relations of white and red races

In the foregoing pages the effort has been made to generalize the wide and variable facts respecting the aborigines of our continent. When America was discovered the native races were here, and they still remain. For four centuries they have been in contact with the aggressive peoples who have pressed them back, and finally restricted them to narrow, but by no means contemptible, portions of territory. The whole history of the United States, therefore, includes a thread of reference to the native races. We shall have occasion in many parts of this work to refer to the Indians, and to their part in the course of passing events. To such portions of the narrative the reader is referred for all that remains to be said and considered with respect to the widely distributed and strongly marked tribes of men who preceded the whites in the possession of the Western Hemisphere.

PART II.

Pre-Columbian Discoveries of America.

CHAPTER VII.

ICELANDIC VOYAGES AND SETTLEMENTS

In the history of nations all things are coherent. The greatest and the smallest events, old in time or recent in development, are bound together by unbreakable ties. The petty affairs of the islanders of the South Pacific are connected in their antecedents with the most momentous movements of the oldest and most famous nations of the world. Nothing in this sphere of action is segregated or broken off from its dependency and involution with the common woof of things. Though in many places the threads seem to be parted by intervals of time and space, it is not so in reality. The invisible forces work on in entirety, like the weaving of a universal loom; no fibre is ever actually detached from the infinite fabric of human history.

Unity of history

The Discovery of America by men of the Aryan race was the result of general causes working among the people of northern Europe as far back as the beginning of the Christian era. We have already seen, in the foregoing introduction, that the second or major discovery of this continent by Columbus grew out of conditions prevailing in Europe in the fifteenth century. The first discovery, made by the Norse navigators of the tenth century, came in like manner, but much more

manifestly and certainly, from the general causes existing among the Scandinavian races.

Simultaneous Northern and Southern race movements

The fact has been much overlooked that the conspicuous irruption of the Teutonic barbarians into the countries of Southern Europe, at the close of the fifth century of our era and for several centuries following, was accompanied with a like tumult moving westward and seaward in the northern parts of the continent. There was a northern race displacement as well as a southern. The latter movement fell on the provinces and finally on the centre of the decayed Roman empire. The former movement expended its force along the shores of the Baltic and on the outlying islands and peninsulas. The northern wave broke against Denmark, and swept on into Sweden and Norway. Our own ancestral race rushed into Britain and decimated the Celtic nations there, almost coincidently with the destruction of the Roman power in Italy by the Goths and the Lombards.

The movement here referred to was general throughout all Western Europe. In the southern part, the barbarian conquests were carried onward into Spain and Northern Africa. In the northwestern part, the vanguards of barbarism took to ship and made their way as far as Ireland, the Shetland isles, the Faroes, the western coast of Norway, and finally to Iceland and Greenland. The Scandinavian colonies which were planted in these remote parts in the earlier centuries of our era were the direct result of the general movement of the Northmen, first to the shores of Denmark

and Holland, and thence to the British isles and that remoter Iceland, which from the narrowness of separating seas is ethnologically and practically a part of North America, though geologically it is a part of Europe.

We thus find that before the close of the ninth century of our era, the gulf between the Old World and the New was, so to speak, bridged over by the planting of the first European colony within the limits of the New World. Iceland was visited by the Norse as early as the year 860. A Dane of Swedish descent, bearing the name of Gardar, discovered the country and called it Gardar's Island. Four years afterwards the pirate Nadodd landed on the same shores and named the country Snowland. In the year 875, Ingolf the son of Orm came in the wake of these forerunners. As he drew near the coast, he threw overboard his *setstakkar;* that is, certain wooden pillars or posts, bearing on the ends effigies of Thor and Wodin. Wherever these should be washed ashore (such was the superstition of the Norse), there the voyagers should land and establish their settlement. Thus did Ingolf, who founded a permanent Icelandic colony, and who may be regarded as the first white governor of men westward of the European bourn.

Iceland settled 875

Certainly the outlying parts—the debatable stepping-stones between Europe and America—had been visited long before the date of Ingolf's going to Iceland. The Anglo-Saxons, the Jutes, and the Frisians had found our ancestral island before the extinction of the Roman empire in Italy.

The navigator Pytheas of Marseilles had visited Britain, and possibly made his way to the Faroe Islands, three hundred years before the Christian era. It is believed that the isles just referred to were the so-called Final Land, or Ultima Thule, of Ptolemy and the first-age geographers. But the earlier voyages were voyages only. Settlement, colonization, lasting occupancy—these came afterwards. To Iceland we must look for the first permanent hold of white men on the country within the American hemisphere.

Another circumstance of the westward movement of the barbarian races through Europe and beyond Europe is, that it had its epoch of activity and then its epoch of cessation. The most restless and adventurous elements of the Scandinavian races were borne onward as a vanguard. Such elements scattered and diffused themselves under their own impulses; but they were little disposed to form settlements and plant new states. That work was reserved for a second wave of immigration, more conservative and domestic. The result was that many places were *found* and few were *occupied*. Some were occupied, but not permanently. A very few were occupied and held; and of this kind the conspicuous instance was Iceland, which has had a continuous history since the last quarter of the ninth century. Civilization, as it has been developed by the Icelanders, is thus the oldest form of that transplanted life which has been so largely developed in America in the last four hundred years.

When we consider attentively the geography of the water-and-land areas between Europe and America at the north, we find the greatness of the intervals narrowing to a span. Beginning a little above the 58th degree of north latitude and measuring onward to the 64th degree, we find the North Atlantic Ocean between Iceland and Norway dwindling to little more than a broad channel. The distance from the Norwegian coast to the Shetland islands is easily passed. The next span from the Shetland to the Faroe group is still less broad; and from the Faroes to Iceland, the distance can be easily covered in calm weather by unpretentious sailing vessels.

Geography of the North Atlantic

On the other side,—that is, on the west side of Iceland,—the water space between the island and Greenland is still more insignificant. The Norse navigators once established in Iceland must have found the next stage far more easy than the one already taken. Be it remembered that the Northmen of the period under consideration easily bore down upon Neustria in France, and converted that region into Normandy. They made their way to Spain, to Northern Africa, to Italy, to Sicily, to Malta, and to Greece. How then should they fear or fail in so slight an enterprise as getting from the Icelandic coast to Greenland?

Let us, however, follow the actual course of events, leaving them to interpret themselves to the reader's understanding. The colony planted on Iceland by Ingolf, in 874, flourished. Population increased; European manners and institutions,

including the Christian religion, were introduced. The government was a full republic. The people imbibed the spirit of nationality, and made a beginning of commerce. They created a literature which to this day is the marvel of critics. Here the Saga, or Story-History, was cultivated. The genius of the race sought expression in epical narrative and musical recitative. The great deeds of the fathers of the folk were celebrated. Story-telling was the prime amusement and entertainment of the Norse people—as it is to the present day. Poetry was developed to a high degree of quaint perfection; its narrative character furnishes the original material for a history of the epoch here under consideration.

High culture of Iceland

It was in the last quarter of the tenth century that an adventurous Icelander, named Herjulf, residing at a place now called Dropetock, made his way from Iceland, where he had been a member of the colony founded by Eric the Red of Norway, to certain precarious setlements of the Norse in Greenland. They who had attempted to colonize Greenland (about 982 A. D.) had found that the western shores were more favorable for settlements than were the eastern parts. Protected situations were more easily discovered among the bays and inlets lying on the east of what is now known as Davis Strait, than on the long bleak shore extending from Cape Dan to Cape Farewell.

Westward expeditions from Iceland

Herjulf's settlement in Greenland took the name of Herjulfnes from its leader. He had a son, Bjarne or Bjarni [Bear] by name, who while

still a young man had become a noted sailor. When his father Herjulf, following Eric the Red,[1] visited the Greenland colonies, Bjarne was absent on a voyage which he had undertaken to some of the Norwegian ports. When he came back to Iceland and found that his father had gone to the Greenland settlements, he followed without waiting to unload his cargo; for after the affectionate manner of the Norse folk, he would fain spend the winter under his father's roof.[2] So he sailed away without knowing the proper direction. He fell into the ocean current which here bears

How Bjarne found America

[1] This is the tradition of Eric the Red. Having killed a man of his settlement in Norway, he fled to Hankadal, in Iceland, and joining the Norse colonies there, found safety until what time in a passion he slew another man. The second time, namely in 982, he became a fugitive and followed in the wake of Gunnbjörne, a sea rover; who, sailing west in the year 876, had come back with the report that he had found a strange land in the west bounded with high hills of ice, and reaching far southward of the latitude of Iceland. Of this new country (Greenland) Gunnbjörne is the accredited discoverer. Eric the Red confirmed the discovery, when, taking the course of Gunnbjörne, he fled thither and planted a permanent settlement—this in the year 985; that is, one year before the visit of Herjulf.

[2] The tradition of Herjulf and Bjarne is touched with sentiment. Even if mythical, it furnishes a clue to the conduct of Bjarne in following his father so persistently from Iceland to Herjulfnes. The story goes that at a former Christmas feast, when the young man, following his ambition, had already become a reputable and successful sailor, the father asked him to make a pledge over the ale horn that he would forever obey him *in one thing*. The son drank the pledge with hilarious affection, protesting his eagerness to follow his father's will in what he might require. "Then," said the father, "with each return of Christmastide, thou shalt be with me while I live, to drink with me the ale from this cup and renew the pledge of a son's fidelity." Such was the promise which Bjarne sought to fulfill when, without discharging his shipload in Iceland, he hurriedly sailed away to find his father's place in Greenland. Considering the sentiments of the age, we may note from the tradition a sufficient reason for Bjarne's refusing to land, as the sailors wished him to do, on the coast far south of Greenland.

strongly to the south and west, and was borne on not knowing whither.

The story of Bjarne

Neither Bjarne nor any of his men had ever seen Greenland; but they knew the character of the shore. After a season of easy and rapid sailing,—rapid for such ship and such navigation,—this Bjarne, son of Herjulf, *saw land to the west and south.* He was expecting to find it to the east and north, but the shore arose in the opposite direction. The character of the coast was entirely different from what Bjarne had heard of the Greenland shores. The land before them was low or rising into modest hills, and forests were seen. Therefore the country was not Greenland.

For a day or two, the coast was followed. The captain had turned to the north. For an interval the shore was not seen. Then what was thought to be an island lay before. The sailors would have landed, but the son of Herjulf said, "Nay: this is not Greenland, for in Greenland they have great hills of ice." So the voyage continued, and again a long low coast was seen. The second time the crew wished to go ashore, but Bjarne refused; a wind blowing from the southwest carried him thence onward—now in the direction of his intended destination. For a while no land was seen, and then the icy cliffs of Greenland arose before them; Herjulf's son found his destination and his father. The Sagas dwell upon the joyful occasion when the new-comers greeted their friends of the colony. Nor would Bjarne and his rough fellows agree to return again to Iceland, but chose

to remain in the settlement which the wealthy Herjulf had planted on one of the fjords of southwestern Greenland.

Whatever may be said of the situation of Iceland, it cannot be disputed that Herjulf's colony *in Greenland* was distinctly American. Bjarne's voyage was made in the year 986.[1] Had he been as eager to discover new lands as he was to keep the ale-horn pledge with his father, he might easily have verified the marvelous, but incidental, results of his late voyage; but according to the tradition, supported by the silence of the Sagas, he never returned to the new-found lands. On the contrary, he made his way back to Iceland and thence to Norway.

The first American colony

Bjarne Herjulf's son did not refrain, however, from telling the story of the strange shores he had seen in the remotest west. Visiting the court of Eric of Norway in the year 994, he recited there the marvels of the new lands which he had found. Hereupon the younger Leif, son of Eric the Red,

Adventures of Leif, son of Eric

[1] For this date, as for the first knowledge of most else relating to the Northmen's voyage to our coasts, we are indebted to the learning and zeal of Karl Christian Rafn (1795-1864), the great Danish antiquary. His work entitled "Antiquitates Americanæ," published in Icelandic and Latin in 1837, first gave the original texts a critical standing in the non-Scandinavian world, and made authentic what had been hitherto regarded by American historians as myth and tradition. Rafn's deductions, it is true, were over-enthusiastic, and have prejudiced many inquirers against the authenticity of the Sagas themselves. But this no more deprives him of his place as restorer of Vinland from mythland to reality, than Schliemann's inaccuracies of deduction deprive him of credit for doing the like service to Troy. The parts of Rafn's work most important to students of our primitive history are translated in De Costa's "Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen," 2d ed., Albany, 1890. The part of the narrative here followed is in Chap. xxix., pp. 17-25.

resolved to know the truth of what he had heard. He accordingly bought the ship of Bjarne, and prepared a veritable voyage of discovery. He gathered a crew of thirty-five adventurers like himself, and manned his vessel. He even persuaded his father, who was then aged, to lend his presence and counsel on the voyage. It was believed that the "luck" of such enterprises might be increased by the presence of venerable characters.

Leif Ericsson's voyage, year 1000

According to the chronicle, Earl Eric rode to the place of embarkation; but when near the ship his horse stumbled, and the Earl was thrown and injured. Then cried he aloud: "It is not reserved for me to discover other lands than that land in which we live; nor can I go further with you." So the old man turned back to his home at Brattahlid. Leif and his companions took to ship and sailed away in the year 1000. In doing so they followed the course of Bjarne, but in reverse order. First they found a bleak region, treeless and grassless. The coast was covered with marl and flat rocks stretching away to ice mountains seen in the distance. Considering the character of the country, Leif the son of Eric said: "It is not with us as it was with Bjarne, for we have gone ashore; and I give to this country the name of Helluland," that is, Flat-Stone Land.

Then the voyage was continued to the south and west. Again they saw a coast before them, and again they came to anchor, sent out a boat, and made a landing. Here the ice mountains had

disappeared; also the desolate rocks. The coast was a low-lying beach of sand, extending far and rising into a country of woods and grassy stretches. "This country," said Leif, "I name also from its appearance, and the name shall be Markland," that is, Forest Land. So, having performed this rude ceremony, the discoverers sailed away with the northeast winds behind them for two days, when they drew near to what seemed to be an island lying to the north, distant by a small space from the shore of what appeared to be a mainland. Coming near to the coast, the sea being smooth and the weather fine, they effected a landing. It was summer-time. The banks were green with grass almost to the water line, and the grass was dewy, The sailors bathed their hands in the dew,—which was the honey-dew,—and tasted it and thought it delicious!

Markland or Forest Land

New lands

After this exploit, the adventurers again embarked, and made their way into a sound lying between the island referred to and a cape jutting out from the mainland on the north. They sailed in beyond the cape. They got into shoal water and fell aground. Evidently the tides fluctuated greatly in these parts—as indeed we know to be the case; for when the ship was aground, the sailors perceived themselves to be at so great distance from deep water that they said, "It is a far look from the ship to the sea."

But when the tide rose under the vessel, Leif and his men got away and entered a river, and thence a "lake" where they cast anchor and went

ashore and built booths for a season. Then they would spend the winter in this place, and that made necessary a large, strong house. This became known by pre-eminence as Leif's House. Great was the salmon-fishing. The earth was still green with grass and woods, and the adventurers thought there should be no need of fodder there for cattle in the winter time. Indeed the manuscript says, "No frost came there in the winters." The discoverers had had the good fortune to chance on one of those warm winters with which the shore parts of New England (their probable landfall) are yet favored at intervals.

Leif's house

It appears that the faculties of the Norsemen were keenly alive to the conditions in which they found themselves. They made note of the fact that the days and the nights were more nearly equal in hours than they were in Greenland or Iceland. Then comes the statement of the hour at which the sun rose and set. This brings, however, one of the disputed questions. According to the Norse method, the day was divided into eight parts, each of which would be equal to three hours of our time. One of these three-hour hours was called *eyktarstad* and another was called *dagmalstad*. The Saga here says that on the shortest day of winter in that place where Leif and his men were encamped, the sun was up between *eyktarstad* and *dagmalstad*. Precisely what this may mean has never been determined scientifically and beyond controversy; but Humboldt, after a study of the question, decided that the place indicated

Probable landfall

STATUE OF LEIF ERICSSON IN BOSTON.

lay under the parallel of 41° 30′ north. Later investigators, however, do not think it possible to base such minute calculations on vague general statements like this.

Explorations by Leif's band

When Leif had established himself in his house, possibly on the river Charles, he set about the exploration of the country. He divided his band into two companies, and sent out one company at a time, with instructions not to go so far from headquarters but that a return might be made each night. The men should not separate, lest some might be lost in the forest or drowned for lack of assistance. Of the nature and extent of the explorations made by these bands we have no certain knowledge. Leif for the most part remained at his house, and his authority in all things was undisputed. He was a young man of powerful frame, with a commanding voice and visage, nor was he lacking in that sagacity and justice which are the prerequisites of all adventurous achievement.[1]

It was at this juncture that Tyrker the German achieved his fame by the discovery of the vine. Tyrker had come as an adventurer to the home of

[1] One can but be impressed with the beauty and heroic spirit given to the bronze statue of Leif Ericsson, standing at the head of Commonwealth Avenue in Boston. The statue is the work of Anne Whitney. It represents a young man of symmetrical figure, full of strength and grace. Nor will the beholder fail to reflect that the living Leif possibly sailed in his boat over the very spot where his monument has been erected; for this spot was then included in that Back Bay of Boston, which is thought by Horsford and others to have been one of the "lakes" which the Norsemen admired from their highlands in Norumbega. John Fiske is inclined also, from the vines and Indian corn ("self-sown wheat"), to think Vinland was on Massachusetts Bay.

Discovery of the Vine in America

Eric the Red in Norway. There he had taken a fancy to Leif when the latter was a boy. To him he would be a sort of foster-father, abundant in such sports and counsels as the boy needed. He had followed on with Eric's colony to Iceland, and more recently had joined Leif when the latter, getting hold of Bjarne Herjulfson's ship, had set out to test the story of Bjarne relative to the new country he had seen in the West.

One day, when the exploring party came in to Leif's house, Tyrker, who had been out on that day's expedition, was missing. At this, Leif was troubled not a little. He took twelve men with him, and sallied forth to find his German father, whom indeed they presently met in a high state of satisfaction and delight.

"Where have you been, my foster-father?" said Leif in the good Norse tongue.

But Tyrker rolled his eyes, laughed, poured out a mass of German gutturals, and seemed more like an insane man than the steady-going companion which he really was. Finally they got him to speak Norse, and then he declared that he had found vines and grapes.

"Certainly I have found them," said he, "for is there any lack of grapes in the country where I was born? Do I not know vines when I see them?"

Hardly could Leif restrain his interest until the morrow. When the morning came, he went forth with the excited Tyrker, and found it even as he said. The wild vines clambered over bushes

and trees. The sailors fell to work cutting and gathering until they filled their boats with grapes. It was thought to be a great find; for when the spring came, they took a cargo of the wild fruit and sailed away.

In this circumstance Leif might well find the suggestion of the name which he gave to the new country. He called it Wineland or Vinland. The adventurers ate abundantly of the wild fruit while they still held the country during the winter; which was, according to the best authorities, the winter of 1001-2. When the spring was sufficiently advanced, the episode was closed for the present by the departure of the expedition. Leif gathered his followers together and took ship for Greenland. On the way thither, Leif, who was on the watch, saw what his companions thought was a ship or overturned boat floating above the waves, but he imagined it to be a skerry with men on it. His judgment proved to be correct, for there was a skerry with several men clinging to it. When Tyrker shouted out to them, one replied that his name was Thori and that he was a Norseman. The shipwrecked company was rescued by Leif, who sailed without further incident to Ericsfiord, and afterwards to Brattahlid.

Leif leaves Vinland, 1001-2

The men rescued from the skerry were well cared for. They numbered fifteen, and so great was their joy at deliverance that they gave Leif the nickname of Lucky. Ever afterwards he was styled Lucky Leif Ericsson. Thori and his wife

Gudrid, and three others of the rescued company, remained with Leif. But Thori died the next winter, as did also Leif's father, and there was a time of discouragement in the colony of Eric the Red.

Leif underrates his find

Leif, however, had achieved fame by his discovery. Like many other discoverers, he seems to have underestimated the best part of his work and fixed his attention on a trifle. He imagined that it would be a great business to find the skerry again and save the wreckage from it. That indeed was done; but it remained for Leif's brother, Thorvald Ericsson, to take up and prosecute the work of discovery.

Thorvald continues Leif's work

With Leif the fever of adventure seems to have subsided. But Thorvald was agitated and would fain undertake great things. He got him a ship and a company of thirty men in the year 1002, and in the following spring sailed forth to find Leif's place in Vinland. This they did, and remained there in self-support during the next winter. They found the salmon to be the chief resource of their living. Thorvald awaited the spring and then prepared an exploring expedition. He sent the ship with the afterboat and a few men down the inner coast of the cape, and they explored the shores for a great distance and as far inland as the rim of woods with which the coast was bordered. For some space they found no signs of human life, but at length they came to what appeared to be a shed for the preservation of grain. The country was found to be well

wooded; the forest came down so near to the sea as to leave only a strip of white sand. Outside of the shore line many small islands were discovered. The natural features corresponded in all respects with the coast of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Rafn's idea, however, that this south-bound company, after making its way around the outer sea line of those regions, also followed the shores of Connecticut and New York, the coast of New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, is unwarranted by anything in the narrative. In the autumn they turned back from their eastern and southern excursion, and established themselves where Leif had had his headquarters two winters before.

Thorvald explores South

In the next summer, which was probably 1004, Thorvald and his men explored the coast northward from Leif's place. Thorvald's north-eastern expedition was less auspicious than his former adventure to the southwest. The party encountered stiff winds, and in turning a promontory were driven ashore with a damaged keel. Much time was taken for repairs. Thorvald erected the old keel as a landmark, and would commemorate the disaster by calling the cape Kjalarness or Keelness, a name which frequently recurs in the accounts of subsequent explorations. Further on up the coast, they made a landing at a headland which Thorvald selected for his settlement.

And North

Here the Norsemen first came into conflict with the natives. They found three skin canoes

with three Indians under each. These they attacked, and killed eight of them. About nightfall they discovered what they thought to be a settlement of the aborigines. Then a fleet of skin canoes approached in the manner of battle. The Norsemen called their assailants *the Skrœllings;*[1] received their onset and fired at them with their crossbows until they fled to shelter. Here it was that Thorvald was mortally wounded with an arrow. He told his companions to retrace their course to the headland which he had chosen for a dwelling place. "Bury me there," said he, "and place a cross at my head and another at my feet, and call it Crossness forever."

First fight with the Indians

So Thorvald died in the year 1004, and was buried on the New England shore. His sorrowing companions returned to Leif's booths, and there they remained another winter, gathering grapes and wood and other articles reckoned valuable. In the following spring,—that is, in 1005,—they sailed with their laden ship to Ericsfiord, having many heroic things to recount at the court of Leif, who was now his father's successor.

The third son of Eric the Red, Thorstein by name, now appeared in the character of discoverer. Among those whom Leif had rescued

[1] *Skraelling* is the name given by the Greenlanders to the Eskimos. Doubtless the aborigines of Massachusetts differed in appearance by a wide departure from the natives of Labrador and other artic shores; but it is reasonable to think that the Norsemen—in expectation of finding in the new lands some race with which they were already acquainted—would call them by the familiar name. As before defined, the English term "scrubs" has the exact contemptuous implication of physical and mental inferiority at once.

from the skerry was Gudrid, wife of Thori. Her, now widowed, Thorstein took for his wife. He was distressed with the thought that the body of his brother Thorvald should rest on a foreign shore. He would therefore organize an expedition and recover the body. He accordingly manned Thorvald's ship with a select crew of twenty-five men, and taking Gudrid with him, sailed for Vinland. But nature was now adverse to the enterprise, and Thorstein's ship was driven about by the winds until it came to the western shore of Greenland. There the company encamped at a place called Lysifiord, and Thorstein attempted to find his kinsmen on that coast. Instead of that, he found in that neighborhood a man of his own name, but surnamed the Swarthy; and the two Thorsteins with their wives dwelt in one home.

Thorstein's expedition

Here the narrative breaks into epic recitals of personal adventures, in the manner of the *Odyssey*. The business ended with the deaths of Thorstein Ericsson and the wife of the other Thorstein. The remaining two—that is, Gudrid and Thorstein the Swarthy—took to ship with certain other adventurers who were encamped on the coast; the bodies of the dead were buried, and Gudrid went back to Brattahlid, the home of her brother-in-law Leif.

Several years had now passed since the discovery of the American shore. According to Rafn's interpretation of the Sagas, it was in 1006 that the Norwegian Thorfinn Karlsefne came in

a ship from Norway to Greenland. It cannot be doubted that at this epoch the Norse vessels went hither and yon with frequency, but without the regular purposes of modern navigation. Karlsefne is represented as a wealthy man, who, finding Leif Ericsson at Brattahlid, passed the winter with him, and while there set his heart upon Gudrid. As for Thorstein the Swarthy, he was away at Ericsfiord and no longer concerned himself with Gudrid's fortunes.

Thorfinn Karlsefne goes to Vinland

Leif readily gave his sister-in-law to Thorfinn, and a Vinland voyage was undertaken in the spring of the year 1007. A crew of one hundred and sixty men and many women was gathered, half of the men being the retainers of Karlsefne and half of Gudrid. It was agreed that the party on arrival in Vinland should occupy Leif's house. On this voyage plentiful supplies were taken, and a sufficiency of live stock to make a beginning of herds in the new country. The notion of commerce also prevailed, and serious preparations were made for a permanent colonization.

The true landfall of Thorfinn, after passing Helluland and Markland, was Kjalarness, or *Keelness;* for it was the place at which the unfortunate Thorvald had left his keel in 1004. This was most probably some part of Cape Cod; whether on the inside or the outside shore cannot be inferred. They call the coast, however, Furdustrandir, a name which recurs frequently in the Saga of Thorfinn. Sometimes it is written Wonderstrands, its English translation.

Settlement at CapeCod?

Here it was that the episode of the scouts occurred. Two of Thorfinn's company were Scots who had been servants of Leif Ericsson. They were dressed in a marvelous manner, and appear to have been the butt of the company. These two the leader now dispatched to spy out the land; and this they did, bringing back trophies of grapes and corn. Inspired by their reports, Thorfinn sailed away and reached a coast which is thought by some to have been Nantucket, by others Martha's Vineyard. Here it was that the adventurers found the land of the eider duck. It was the laying season, and so thickly were the eggs strewn that Thorfinn's men could hardly make their way without treading upon them. Thus they found the place which they called Stream Island, and a bay beyond that island may well have been Buzzard's Bay. And it was on this part of the coast that Thorfinn's company passed the first winter of their stay in America.

Reports of the emissaries

With the coming spring the company met a reversal of fortune. The caprice of the New England climate and natural products has been known for centuries. Sometimes even the winter season recurs so genial, so flooded with sunshine and promise, that one may imagine himself in a subtropical land of fruits and flowers. In another year the boreal blasts will drop out of the frozen regions, and mingled snow and sleet and rain will cover the land with desolation and the sea with gloom. The productions of the country vary with

Varied New England weather

these vicissitudes of season. The Norsemen found it so in the spring of 1008. They had been reckless of their last year's abundance. They had stored nothing. Summer came tardily. There was lack of provision. They must hunt and fish or starve.

One of the three ships of Thorfinn's expedition was commanded by a certain Thorvard, who was a Greenlander. He had among his men one who was reported to be a mighty hunter, whose name was Thorhal Gamlason. He was disliked for his dirtiness of person and profanity of speech; but he was now reckoned a useful man after his kind. What should he do but go into the woods for three days and pray to Thor to send them food? Hereupon a huge whale was washed ashore, and the half-starved colonists fell to and filled themselves in the manner of Eskimos.

A whale from Thor

This providential sea-fall, however, did not satisfy Thorhal; and he and a band of malcontents with him, nine in number, resolved to leave the country. So they got one of the ships,—with the consent of Thorfinn, as it appears,—and hurling back satirical invectives at the land of false promises, sailed away. Thorhal, looking back, shouted to his companions, in jagged Norse doggerel, his sentiments regarding Vinland, as follows:

"People told me when I came
Hither, all would be so fine,—
The good Vinland, known to fame,
Rich in fruit and choicest wine:
Now the water-pail they send;
To the fountain I must bend;

Nor from out this land divine
Have I quaffed one drop of wine.

. . . . , . . .

Thorhal's pasquinade

"Let our trusty band
Haste to Fatherland;
Let our vessel brave
Plough the angry wave,
While those few who love
Vinland here may rove,
Or, with idle toil,
Fetid whales may boil,
Here on Furdustrand
Far from Fatherland."[1]

The sequel, however, was not happy for the deserters. They were driven from their course, and never succeeded in finding Iceland or Greenland again. Tradition, however, solved their fate by recounting their shipwreck on the coast of Ireland, where the mockers at the goodness of Vinland were seized by the unsympathetic Irish and reduced to servitude.

Later history of the settlement

The more reasonable and courageous, and much the more numerous, part of Thorfinn's men supplied their wants as well as they might until spring, when they left the Bay and proceeded southward along the coast till they reached what, if the former suppositions are correct, was probably Narragansett Bay. Here they made explorations. At another time they are found in an expanse doubtfully assumed to be Mount Hope Bay. In the next place they reached Leif's booths on the Charles; and here they established themselves at

[1] Translation by North Ludlow Beamish.

some distance from the open sea, in a settlement which promised permanency. They now found abundance of salmon; and as for the earth, it yielded corn and grapes. There was also a plentiful fall of game. The ensuing winter was of so mild a character that the cattle flourished out of doors, and scarcely did the grass cease to grow in January.

Vinland meant to be permanent

At this time the Skrællings came upon the scene, but they were at first peaceably disposed. The Norsemen were not favorably impressed with the character and person of the natives. The latter were small of stature, of swarthy visage, poorly clad, and unheroic in manners and action. In the following spring, which was the year 1008, a host of Skrællings blackened the waters of lake and river with their skin canoes. A trade was opened with the colonists. The Norsemen found that the principal thing with the aborigines was to get something good to eat; but the Europeans had the notion of advantage in trade, and therefore looked to the value of the things exchanged. The Skrællings were easily frightened. They were afraid of Karlsefne's cattle; and when his Norwegian bull bellowed, they ran away. After their fright was over, they would return and offer furs, skins, and rude utensils, in exchange for milk. Once they sought to procure weapons; but Karlsefne told his people to offer nothing but articles of food. So the women set out vessels of milk for the Skrællings, and the latter gave freely of their pelts and wares. They were especially fond of

The Skrællings appear

scarlet cloth, and gave valuable furs for the smallest strip.

At this settlement, in the summer of 1008, Gudrid gave birth to a son whom they named Snorri.[1] The summer passed pleasantly away, but with the coming of the winter of 1008-9, the Skrællings came again in alarming array of numbers. A friendly trade was carried on with them for a time, but at length there was treachery and battle. The natives bore down upon the settlement, as the Saga says, "like a rushing torrent." The Norsemen resisted in sword-fight, but they were driven back by the overwhelming horde that had attacked them. Though fright in a Viking was an unseemly thing, Thorfinn's men were terrified. Afterwards the colonists would fain account for their fear by reciting the prodigies of the attack. The Skrællings were said to carry poles with big bladder-like balls on the ends, and these they would swing around and beat the ground withal, making a terrible noise. We know the Algonquins did so six centuries later, and this forms one of our presumptions that the two were identical.

Birth of first white child in the New World

Battle with Skrællings

So Thorfinn's men were about to be scared out of the battle, when suddenly Freydis, wife of Thorvard, rushed forth and rallied her country-

[1] In accordance with Icelandic usage, the surname of Thorfinnson was given to Snorri. We have no reason to doubt that this Snorri was the first-born of the Aryan race in the New World, and Massachusetts probably had that honor. To Snorri has been ascribed a list of illustrious descendants, among whom was the famous sculptor, Albert Bertel Thorwaldsen.

men, denouncing them as cowards, brandishing her arms and tearing the clothing from her breast, as if to mock them with the fact that she, a woman, could out-fight them all. However, the Norsemen fled to the woods, and Freydis was obliged to follow. Nevertheless, in the flight, she snatched a weapon from one of her fallen countrymen, and, turning madly on the pursuers, held them at bay. The Skrællings could not endure her fierce visage and hideous manner. The Saga says they took to their canoes and were glad to get away. Freydis found the body of Thorbrand Snorrason in the woods, with a tomahawk in his brain and his sword by his side.

Freydis cows the Indians

The defeat of Karlsefne's men and their flight from the settlement was the virtual end of the colony. The enterprise, at least at this place, was given up. It seems that the colonists temporarily recovered from their panic and returned to their lodges for the winter of 1009-10. Neither did the Skrællings molest them further. However, courage had left their hearts. One of the men was overtaken by a monster Uniped, whatever that might be, and was killed. Probably this was invented as a pretext for deserting the place. Evidently, the terrors of the New World were too much to be longer borne by the colonists.

The colonists lose heart

In other desultory skirmishes, the Norsemen met the natives and had the advantage. But the life of the enterprise was out, and it only remained for Thorfinn to gather his followers and

sail away. The two ships—the one commanded by himself, and the other by Bjarne Grimolfson—were prepared, and the Norsemen of Thorfinn's command departed, taking two of the Skrælling boys with them as prisoners to Greenland. There they were made to be Christians. They were dressed as Greenlanders, and from them, the people of the Norse countries got at least a traditional knowledge of the native races of the New World. The vessels were well loaded with such valuables as might be gathered from Vinland, including specimens of its timber, vines, grapes, and peltries. The expedition was concluded with a safe voyage to Ericsfiord, where Thorfinn arrived in the spring of 1010.

Thorfinn deserts the settlement

The expedition of Thorfinn Karlsefne has been justly regarded as the most important of all the visitations of the Norsemen to our shores. The numbers engaged were greater than in any other adventure. The knowledge and experience gained from the explorations and booth-buildings and settlements of Thorfinn's men were more important than that derived from any other source. The results of the exploration and settlement gave greater promise of permanency. The event was more famous among Karlsefne's countrymen than the like exploit of any of his contemporaries.[1]

Results of his attempt

[1] No fewer than three different accounts of Thorfinn's expedition were written. The first of these was the *Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne;* the second was the *Saga of Eric the Red;* and the third was a briefer recital which appears in the Flatey Book, mentioned later. After his return to Greenland, there was an ever diminishing likelihood of the permanent occupation of the New World by his countrymen.

New voyages to Vinland

The knowledge of these events, and particularly the rumor of the goodness of the new country, led the Icelanders and the Greenlanders in their outposts, and the more distant Norwegians, to much activity and enterprise. To make voyages to Vinland seemed honorable, and it was known to be profitable. About the time that Karlsefne reached Greenland, perhaps in 1010, a ship came thither from Norway. It was commanded by two brothers, Helgi and Finnbogi. They remained at Leif's place in Greenland for one winter. They too were Icelanders by nationality. Freydis, the adventurous sister of Leif, having ambitions of her own, asked Helgi and Finnbogi to join her on equal terms in an expedition to the new country.

Freydis takes a fresh colony

To this the brothers agreed. They would make the adventure together with Freydis. Sixty men should be the crew, and thirty should be the retainers of each. There should also be a company of women. Freydis got from Leif the privilege of occupying his houses when she should come to Vinland. It seems that this privilege he had also extended to the two brothers. The latter reached their destination first. They took possession of Leif's house in 1012; but when Freydis came she ousted them, and herself held her brother's buildings. Helgi and Finnbogi removed to another situation somewhat nearer to the sea, and built their houses or sheds on the borders of a "lake." The uncertainty of the Norsemen's actual location is shown by the fact

that some identify this with the Back Bay of Boston, others with Mount Hope Bay.

The two parties did not get on well during the ensuing winter. The Norse epic contains an account of how the woman got the better of the men. She tried to buy their ships; and when they refused, or prevaricated, she went back to her husband and incited him to attack the brothers. Freydis's retainers were armed and set on the party of Helgi and Finnbogi, and the latter were slain. When her men refused to kill the women of the other party, she did that deed herself, and threatened death to any who should reveal her crime.

Freydis and her crime

So matters wore on till the spring of 1013, when Freydis and her band took ship, and after a prosperous voyage reached Ericsfiord. There they found Karlsefne and his ship ready for a voyage. Freydis was able to make rich presents to her friends. At length, however, the rumor of her crime became noised abroad, and Leif Ericsson heard of it. He compelled some of the retainers to speak the truth. Not willing to punish his sister as her wickedness deserved, he pronounced a prophecy of evil fate on her and her descendants.

Karlsefne for his part took a cargo of merchandise to Norway. Then he got ready for another voyage to Iceland. It was at this juncture that a Saxon from Bremen discovered among the merchandise of Karlsefne a piece of wood which proved to be the mausur wood from

Vinland. What this treasure was, the antiquaries have been unable yet to decide. It was possibly the knots of oak and beech, or bird's-eye maple. Karlsefne made his voyage and returned to Iceland in 1014. There he purchased an estate and passed the remainder of his life. From him and his wife Gudrid sprang a remarkable stock, including some of the most distinguished Icelanders, and preserving the name of Thorfinn to the present day.

The Vinland brood

After the expedition undertaken by Freydis and the brothers Helgi and Finnbogi, the enterprise of exploration and colonization in the new country apparently came to an end. Most likely the first quarter of the eleventh century witnessed the close of those Viking-like, heroic exploits which began with Ingolf and Bjarne Herjulfson, and ended with the settlement of Freydis and her followers at Leif's booths.

This at first sight seems very strange. If a colony could flourish for four centuries in icy Greenland, why should it struggle vainly a few years in the sunny summers and at least endurable winters of fertile New England, and die without leaving a trace behind it? Why, even, did not the Greenlanders prefer to move to Vinland altogether? They had been settled but a few years in Greenland, and had no ties of home to sunder. Such ties at best sat very lightly on these roving spirits, or they would not have come to Greenland in the first place. The permanent settlement of Vinland, once opened, would seem as

Reasons for failure

natural and almost inevitable a consequence as that the day should succeed the night.

Indian hostility

Nevertheless, the reasons for failure are simple enough. In one sentence, there were too many Indians and too few reinforcements. Neither cause by itself would have been decisive. The Greenland settlements, limited to a small space of available farming ground, in a less favorable country, early ceased to have many recruits from home; but so long as they had no savage foes to harass them, they throve by natural increase. When, however, the Eskimo—a far less formidable foe than the red Indian—discovered and began to make war on them, they speedily perished. On the other hand, all the North American Indians together could not oust the white settlers in the seventeenth century, when once the swarming ships had landed a few thousand men and women, with cattle and tools. But a little handful of colonists, left alone among thousands of hostile savages, had not force to fight them, nor breeding capacity to propagate a plentiful new generation.

Too far from base

As to Greenland, it is quite certain that its climate was perceptibly warmer in the year 1000 than it is at present. It was possible to rear cattle and raise hay for them—since it was done—where now it is entirely impossible. The polar ice sheet has moved southward since that time. And then, the usually cold winters of New England probably made them think there would be no gain in moving. Besides, they were

within fairly easy reach of the home base. They could send for food in famine, for help of various kinds. They could receive news at intervals of a few months; and after all, their hearts were human, and Scandinavia was home, and the centre of what to them was a rich civilization. With the vessels then existent, a few hundred miles farther carried them beyond effective communication, save at long and precarious intervals. We must remember that they could not take the straight ocean path, lacking the compass, but must follow the stepping-stones of Iceland, Greenland, and the coast. Hence Greenland was the base of operations for Vinland, and the stream of adventure grew rapidly smaller as it flowed through this narrow channel so far from home.

Greenland nearer home

At most there could not be a great amount of reinforcement; for the energies of the bulk of the adventurous Norse element were drained into more immediately profitable and attractive fields. The Norsemen in this very century were raiding the coasts, looting the towns, and overturning the thrones of Southern Europe; or joining the Crusades; or forming bodyguards for the kings and defensive troops for the empires too strong to be upset. There was far more opening for plunder, power, and enjoyment in this than in tilling soil and tending cattle, or wresting useless spoils from naked savages. The Viking was not domestic in his tastes. Exploration and the wonders of strange lands might

Norse energies spent elsewhere

tempt him; but those who were lured on by these adventures were the very ones who could not contentedly settle down into agriculturists. They might take pleasure, they did take pleasure, in fighting when there was a decisive victory to be gained and others' wealth to be seized; but to wage eternal warfare with elusive swarms of dirty barbarians, with only a peasant's monotonous life at the end, had no charms for them. And those who had a taste for the life of the soil had none for the harassing terrors of savage hostility, which they were all too few to resist successfully.

Vikings not colonizers

Vinland, therefore, henceforth remained a name, and a place to visit for the wood which Greenland lacked; one of the many *islands* to be found in the seas, it was supposed. The cabins of the colony perished; the cattle were eaten by the colonists or the savages; the few tools were carried back with the retreating colonists; pottery they seem never to have brought, probably relying on rough dishes of bark or wood for temporary needs. Hence no certain Norse relic has been found south of Greenland. Walls and dams along the Charles River, thought by Prof. Horsford to be erections by Leif in his village centre at what is now Cambridge, Massachusetts, are thought by others to be Puritan fish weirs; there is not evidence enough for a solid conclusion. The famous myth-name of Norumbega, so rich with the romance of early exploration, for a fabulous city of New England or for the

Supposed Norse relics

country itself, may have been a survival of Norbega or Norway, and commemorate the Norse; nothing is so unreliable as historical inference from uncertain philology.

Later voyage to Vinland

But so long as the Greenland settlement endured, voyages were made to Vinland now and then, probably for wood, and memory was preserved of its native corn and grapes and its savage inhabitants. Of this there can be no rational doubt; the evidences are too many and too continuous. A steady chain of notices—some way apart, but all the stronger proof of a continuing tradition—carries us down past the middle of the fourteenth century, and past the time when the history of the Vinland voyages had been enshrined for all time in the noble Icelandic literature. These notices are a part of Vinland history; a most important part, since they alone assure us of its being history, and not the fable it was at one time held to be. We shall give them as nearly as possible in chronological sequence.

Later notions of Vinland

First upon the roll is Adam of Bremen, a German priest, who heard the tale of the strange far land but little more than half a century after Freydis had disencumbered it of a heart more savage than any that beat in the breasts of its native children. Wishing to write a book to be called the "Ecclesiastical History," which in fact he published in 1073, he had sound ideas as to obtaining his facts from first-hand sources; and he traveled extensively to obtain them. Among

other places he visited in 1069 the court of King Svend or Sweyn Estridsen of Denmark, nephew of the great Canute or Cnut. By that monarch he was told of an island called Vinland, which had been visited by many persons, where grew wild grapes and self-sown grain. No mention is made that any persons lived there, and this is practically a proof that none did so then; but living persons could well remember that some had done so. Adam supposed this island to be in the Arctic regions, and placed beyond it eternal ice and darkness. His readers doubtless dismissed it as one more wonder-tale, true enough, but of curious and useless regions which did not concern them.

Vinland deserted in 1069

In 1112 Pope Paschal II. appointed one Eric Gnupsson or Uppsi bishop of Greenland "and Vinland." Evidently Vinland was remembered as an annex to Greenland; probably Eric himself informed the Pope of it and asked to have it included, but he certainly would not have asked him to include Atlantis or the Gardens of the Hesperides. It was known to be a real place; but that voyages were not very frequent, and the route not charted, may be inferred from the fact that the "Royal Annals of Iceland" tell us in 1121 that Bishop Eric "went in search of Vinland." He probably found a grave in the waters instead, or perhaps at the hands of the Vinland Indians, for the next year the Greenlanders petition for another bishop. This is the last voyage to Vinland recorded on the Icelandic records; but if ships

Vainly searched for in 1121

merely went there for wood once in a few years, the records would not mention so trivial a fact. We shall see later that this was probably the fact.

Ari Thorgilsson mentions Vinland

Early in the twelfth century a priest named Ari Thorgilsson, the first Iceland historian, wrote among other works a "Book of Iceland." This work is lost; but an abridgment which he made of it, called the "Icelanders' Booklet" (*Libellus Islandorum*), still exists. In this he mentions that his uncle Thorkell Gellison had visited Greenland, and talked with one of the company who settled Brattahlid with Eric the Red. He says that Eric's party found stone tools and fragments of boats and huts; and that therefore a race like those who inhabited Vinland, and whom the Greenlanders called Skrællings, must have lived there. This off-hand allusion to the country and the savages, as well known to his readers, makes it certain that both were as much a part of current knowledge as Virginia and Powhatan's Indians were to the English of the seventeenth century. Ari also wrote part of another work called the "Landnama-Bok," a statistical account of Iceland. In this book, Vinland is twice mentioned: once merely as a well-known place; in the other instance as founded by "Karlsefni, Snorri's father." In another book called the "Kristni Saga," Leif Ericsson is said to have been called "Leif the Lucky" from having discovered "Vinland the Good."

About 1140, an English priest called Ordericus Vitalis wrote an "Ecclesiastical History,"

in which the dominions of the kings of Norway are said to comprise "Finland." From the circumstances, this cannot mean the land of the Finns, and is probably the name of Vinland miscaught.

A "Guide to the Holy Land," by an Icelandic abbot named Nikulas Sæmundson, who died in 1159, mentions the voyages of Leif and Thorfinn. It specifies Helluland, Markland next, and Vinland beyond. Two other small treatises on geography, of the thirteenth century, mention Helluland and Vinland, one of them placing Markland between the two.

The "Eyrbyggja Saga," written between 1230 and 1260, says that Thorbrand Snorrason went with Karlsefne from Greenland to Vinland, and was killed there in a fight with the Skrællings. This is the one whom Freydis found tomahawked in the woods.

In the fourteenth century comes into existence the Saga of Eric the Red, from which our story has been taken. The oldest version was written somewhere between 1305 and 1334, by Hauk Erlendsson, the eighth in descent from Snorri, the son of Gudrid, the solitary child born in Vinland. This is known as the "Hauksbok." About 1387 a priest named Jon Thordharson made another version, which is called the "Flateyar Bok," or usually in English the "Flatey Book," that is, Flat Island Book, because the copy now existing was owned by a man who lived on that little island in an Icelandic

Saga of Eric the Red

fiord. It contains many other facts about Vinland and the voyages besides what are given by Hauk. Both, of course, copied their accounts from older sources; but these sources were recognized in Iceland as authentic.

Last mention of places beyond Greenland

Lastly, in the "Elder Skalholt Annals," about 1362, it is stated that in 1347 a very small vessel came from Greenland to Iceland, which had started to Markland, but lost its anchor in a storm and had been driven thither. It had seventeen men on board. This vessel was doubtless one of those which sailed from Greenland to the American coast for wood, and kept alive the memory of the older voyages. This is the last voyage mentioned to any region south of Greenland, till that of Columbus; unless the fisherman's story told by Zeno, mentioned in the next chapter, may possibly carry us forty years further on. Even if so, it would add nothing to our knowledge.

Fate of Greenland

That the curtain should fall on the southern coast is natural; for we have now come close to the extinction of the Greenland settlement itself. We have already shown that even the casual voyages to Vinland—and therefore the perpetuation of its memory as anything but an old story of some savage island, such as legend was full of—depended on Greenland. Now, the latter was never a very strong settlement. It never numbered many hundreds, the climate was probably growing worse, and the increasing ice pack was making voyages to and from Greenland more perilous. But two deadly enemies were

about to compass its final destruction, the hostility of the aborigines and the political economy of its own rulers.

About the year 1350, not long after the last Markland voyage we have mentioned above, the Eskimo swooped down upon the East Bygd, one of its two great settlements, and massacred every soul of the inhabitants. When the rescuing party came from the West Bygd, only a few stray domestic animals were left. It has been often stated that the remnant were exterminated or fatally weakened by the Black Death, which swept over Europe at this time, and carried off one-half of the inhabitants of the continent. But as the Black Death never reached Iceland, it is very improbable that it should have reached Greenland.

Eskimo massacre

As a fact, the final death-blow was dealt by a worse and more insidious enemy: one of those attempts at managing national trade better than the people can manage it if left alone, which have cursed the world in every age. In 1387 the three Scandinavian crowns were united on the head of Queen Margaret. Two years later the Greenland trade in furs and whale oil, as well as that of Iceland and the Faroes, was made a royal monopoly, to be carried on only in ships owned by the sovereign or licensed by her. All vessels must start from home ports. The Iceland fleet was annihilated, and the trade badly crippled. As to the Greenland trade, carried on from Iceland, it sank out of sight, because the

Greenland ruined by monopoly

ships did not start from Denmark or Norway in time to reach Iceland before the sailing season to Greenland was over. It was a century and a quarter before this monopoly was removed; but it took little if any more than the odd quarter-century to wipe out Greenland. Once the curtain lifts one corner, and shows us the record of a marriage performed in 1409; again it falls, and forever, on the old Norse colony, which soon afterward must have ceased to exist. Probably the Eskimo closed in upon it, while it was dying from the ruin of its trade. It was first visited again three centuries after, and no soul remained unless in some diluted mixture with Eskimo. With it, and with the long depression of Iceland, vanished for over four centuries the memory of Vinland, save in a small corner of the world, or for one or two stray references in Latin works, regarded by even the readers of those as a fairy tale.

Greenland perishes

Thus ended the episode of the Icelanders in America. For about five centuries after this date, the Norse race made but a feeble impression on the destinies of the peoples and nations of the West. It was reserved for their ethnic relatives —namely, the Angles, the Jutes, the Frisians, the Saxons, and the Normans—to determine the character of the transplanted institutions of the West.

Other Teutonic races make America

Within the nineteenth century, however, the Norse race again flung itself upon the very country which the ancestors of that race were

first to find. In our own times, the Norwegians, the Swedes, the Danes, and the Icelanders, have contributed a host of immigrants to the population of the United States. These have become, after so great a lapse of time, worthy participants in the civilization which had been created by their congeners on a continent which might have been their own. The peoples of Norse Europe take a deep interest in affairs American, and a considerable fraction of this interest is derived from the claim of their fathers to have been the first discoverers.

Modern Norse in America

The tradition of Leif and Thorfinn is a vital part of the historic tradition of the Icelanders. It has entered into the literature of the people. It is embedded not only in the erudition of the recondite masters, but also in the light pages of school-books and current fiction. The school children of Iceland know the story by heart, and take delight in saying, when America is referred to in their hearing, "Oh, yes: Leif Ericsson discovered that country in 1001."

As to the character of the Norse adventurers who found our country, but failed to occupy, they were a hardy, restless folk whose delight was to break the law and brave the sea. The sea was their escape. The Icelandic Vikings, however, were a nobler and more humane race of rovers than were their kinsmen, the Anglo-Saxons and the Jutes. It does not appear that the Norse visitations to our shores were of a piratical character.

Character of the Vinlanders

Character of the sea-kings

The sentiments of the leaders as revealed in the Sagas were flecked with romance as well as pervaded with daring. Nearly all the Vikings had in their character and purposes some of the elements of freebooters and pirates, but they were also born to be heroes and poets.

The Sea King was as much of a discoverer as he was a conqueror. He was not careful to gather the fruits of his own adventure. He sought the unknown because it was unknown, and pillaged to gratify his sense of novelty. He was —as he still is in his descendants—a moving man; in him, the sense of permanency was not —and is not to this day—strongly developed.

> He scorns to rest 'neath the smoky rafter,
> He plows with his boat the roaring deep;
> The billows boil and the storm howls after,
> But the tempest is only a thing of laughter,—
> The sea-king loves it better than sleep!

Voyages had no permanent results

As to consequences flowing from the Norse discovery of America, they were none. The failure to make permanent settlements was the failure of all. The sea and the season obliterated the vestiges of the Icelandic discoveries. The oblivious curtain fell on the sea, and the transient glimpse of the New World was darkened, if not effaced, from the memory of men.

CHAPTER VIII.

TRADITIONAL GLIMPSES OF THE NEW WORLD

Traditions of western lands

The precise facts relative to the traditional voyages made to the shores of America during the Middle Ages can never be certainly ascertained. We know thus much, that for a long time the intelligence and enterprise of Europe reached out half-blindly and indefinitely towards the western hemisphere. Many navigators, some in the north and some in the south of Europe, put off from the western harbors of the Old World with the vague purpose of finding the New. Some of these returned; others returned not. There was a mythical lore of discovery which was repeated, and even taught from age to age. But the historical results were almost naught. In some instances, knowledge was added; here and there geography was amended, refuted, or confirmed. On the whole, the ocean lost a measure of its terror.

One instance of comparative success in adventure of the kind referred to occurred in the early part of the twelfth century. A consistent account of the event has been preserved by the Arabian geographer Edrisi, and repeated by Major in his *Life of Prince Henry the Navigator*. At the time referred to, the southern parts of Spain and the western harbor of Portugal were still held by the

Arabs. Lisbon was in their power. The Arabian navigators of this period were the bravest and most adventurous of any in the world. The story goes that eight of such brave sailors, living at Lisbon, determined to make a voyage of discovery into the western seas. For this purpose they procured a vessel and gathered supplies for several months' support. Then they sailed away down the western ocean.

Western voyages of the Arabs

The account of the voyage indicates that the Arab expedition got as far as the weed-covered sea of Sargasso. The discoverers found an island somewhere in the far distant waters, and called it "Little Cattle"—Arabic *El Ghtanam*. They were terrified by the usual visions and portents of the sea. But they effected a landing on their island, killed some of the sheep and would have made a feast; but the flesh was bitter. And this is a true thing of the flesh of the wild goats in the Madeira islands; for the creatures feed upon bitter herbs, the taste of which pervades the meat of the animals.

The adventurers, finding nothing to kindle their desire or supply their appetites, sailed away and found other islands, doubtless the Cape Verdes. Here they were seized on approaching the shore and were taken before the king, who made sport of them, blindfolded them, set them afloat at night, and left them to their fate. By and by, however, they drifted to the African shore and were rescued by the Berbers. The total result of the expedition was the discovery of the Cape Verde and Madeira islands.

More celebrated than the exploit of the Arabs was the alleged discovery of America by Madoc, Prince of Wales. This event has been assigned to the year 1170. The tale, however, belongs to myth-land. We give the story here for its interest as part of the romance woven about the discovery of America; but a Welshman has definitely disproved it. It runs in this wise:

The story of Madoc

Owen Gwynedd, who was Prince of North Wales, died, leaving a disputed succession. His oldest son, Edward, refused the crown because he had a disfigured face. Hereupon a certain Howell, a natural son of Gwynedd, set up his claim, defended it, and got the sceptre; for Prince Madoc, the remaining son, being a man of peaceable disposition, would not support his claims by force, but chose to leave the prize to his warring brothers.

As for himself, Madoc prepared some ships, and in the year 1170 sailed away on a voyage of discovery. He first sailed northward through the Irish Sea, and then for a long distance over the open ocean. At length he came to an unknown shore. The country was found to be beautiful in its contrast with the rockbound and mountainous Wales. The climate was genial. The inhabitants were of a race different from any which the Welshmen had known or heard of. After brief explorations along the shore, Madoc took ship and returned to his own country. The report of this expedition produced excitement among the people of Wales; and Madoc might well urge his friends to leave a bleak and broken land, where a usurper

had obtained the crown which belonged to the true prince, and to sail with him to a distant and beautiful country. A fleet was accordingly constructed and manned. A colony was made up, and the expedition departed, never to return.

Irving's jest in "Knickerbocker's History," that Madoc was supposed to have gone to America because "If he did not go there, where else could he have gone?" is still a fair comment on this story, except that there is no evidence of any such voyage having been undertaken at all. Many other circumstances have been supposed to strengthen this legend. None of them, however, can now be accorded any weight. The Sagas have a couple of stories concerning lands beyond Vinland, called "White Man's Land" and "Ireland the Great." They do not come within the region of argument. The Mandans of the upper Missouri valley greatly impressed the missionaries, travelers, explorers, and ethnographers, by their light complexion, and their culture superior to any other Indian race north of the pueblos of New Mexico. Both have been thought due to an admixture with the white race. Mr. Catlin referred this to the Madoc story. He thought that Madoc's party might have ascended the Mississippi, then the Ohio and built the mounds there, and at last reached their location on the Missouri. He also found some words in their language which sounded like Welsh; and he considered their tribal traditions consistent with the story. The truth is that the light complexion is a feature occasionally met with in Indian tribes

Baseless confirmations of Madoc story

The Mandans

A MANDAN INTERIOR.
(Painting by Carl Bodmer.)

through both North and South America; the really high culture probably indicates a connection with the races allied to the Mexican stock; the resemblance of words is merely casual—endless cloud castles have been reared on such foundations, and the ancient Egyptians could be allied to the modern French by the same method; and Indian traditions of origin are often so vaguely mythical that they lend themselves to many different speculations.

The Mandans

The most curious story in this connection is as follows: In the year 1685, a letter was written by the Reverend Morgan Jones, of New York, which had then only recently passed under the dominion of the English. The writer had been on a military expedition from Virginia into the Carolinas, and while serving as chaplain for the Virginia soldiers, in the year 1660, had, according to his own recital, been captured by a band of Indians called the Dœgs, belonging to the Tuscarora nation. Mr. Jones stated that the Indians in council were about to condemn him to death, when he cried out in his native tongue, which was Welsh, bewailing his hard fate. Hereupon one of the Indians ran to him as a protector, for he had understood Jones's language! The prisoner was saved. He was able to converse with his captors. He preached to them in Welsh, and this was understood—according to the story. For four months the reverend prisoner remained with the Indians, and then returned to tell the tale in Virginia. This letter was written by Jones to Dr. Thomas Lloyd of Pennsylvania, who transmitted the document

Morgan Jones' letter

A clergyman's story

to his brother, C. H. S. Lloyd of Wales, by whom, in the year 1740, it was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of London.

The Zeno voyages

A far more interesting story, because at least made up from true materials, and plausible enough to be still treated as essentially true by many great authorities, is that of the brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno of Venice. We shall tell their story first, reserving most of our comment till the close.

The Zeno family was very old, very wealthy, and very distinguished; one of senators, generals, and even a doge. About 1380 Nicolo, known as "the Chevalier," the war with Genoa being over, decided to seek adventure elsewhere. He fitted out his own ship, gathered a company, and sailed away. His purpose was to make his way from Venice through the Mediterranean, to England and Holland. The voyager of that age, however, was always subject to the caprice of the sea. Not long after the passage of the Pillars, Nicolo's vessel was taken by a storm and carried far into an unknown and starless ocean. The general course was north. At length a barren and forbidding land was seen, and the vessel was driven half wrecked to the shore.

Taking to the boat, Nicolo and his companions reached the land; but they were immediately confronted by hostile natives. The latter were proceeding to put the strangers to death, when the king of Porland, one of the neighboring islands, came to the rescue and saved the Venetians from

the impending fate. The king saw that the strangers were Europeans, and spoke to them in Latin. At this very time the king was reducing the islanders thereabout to subjection, having successfully rebelled against the King of Norway; and they who were about to destroy Zeno and his companions were claimed as subjects by the monarch, whose name is given as "Zichmni." This simplified matters. Nicolo and his men became the retainers of Zichmni; and when the former wrote for his brother Antonio to come, the latter complied with the request, arriving next year. Thenceforth the two Zeni shared the common fortunes of their adventure.

Zichmni and Frislanda

The name of the island to which Nicolo and his men had been driven was understood by the adventures as "Frislanda." It is described as a country larger than Iceland (or Ireland); and the people were in communication with Britain, Scotland, Flanders, Denmark, and Norway. Zichmni would have the Zeni serve him; and Nicolo was made master of the navy. At first he took part in a war of conquest among the islands (the Shetlands?) where he found himself. Afterwards joined by his brother, he made a voyage to the west as far as a country which he calls "Engroueland," obviously Greenland. There he found a monastery and a church. The monks belonged to the order of the Preachers. The church was called the church of St. Thomas.

Engroueland

The brotherhood of this monastery was of the usual jolly constitution. The monks told the

Venetians how happily they were situated. There was in the neighborhood a volcano containing hot water. This the brothers conveyed through tiles into their cloister. The whole establishment, including the conservatory and the gardens, was made as warm and genial as were the grounds of any monastery in the south. The brothers had always hot water abundantly on hand. The baths were inexhaustible. The food was cooked with the natural flow from the geyser. What was all the outside gloom of the bleak and desolate world to the perennial warmth and comfort of this holy establishment? Moreover, it was found that the volcanic stones which abounded in the neighborhood, having been calcined in the subterraneous fires before their ejection, were converted into lime as soon as the geyser waters touched them. Here was building material.

Greenland after 1380?

When Nicolo reported the results of his voyage, he and Antonio would return to Venice; but Zichmni would not permit this, and Nicolo died not long after. Antonio succeeded him as admiral of the fleet. Meantime the king's imagination had been greatly excited by a report that had reached him out of the west. An aged fisherman, drifting in his boat, reached Frislanda. He had been absent for many years, and he now returned with a marvelous account of what had occurred to him and his companions since their departure. Long ago they had ventured in their fishing boats far out into the western seas, and had been driven by storms they knew not whither; but

The old fisherman's yarn

they estimated the distance at a thousand miles. At last they were wrecked on the coast of an island not quite so large as Iceland, which they found to bear the name of Estotiland. The shipwrecked fishermen were taken before the king of the island, and with him communication was opened through a resident sailor, himself a castaway, who could speak Latin. (This was then the universal medium of communication, other languages being only local dialects.) Afterward the castaways were conducted to a large walled city.

Estotiland

They made themselves acquainted with the country, and found there all the blessings of a civilized life. The country was heavily forested, and abounded in metals, including gold. In the middle of the island was a great mountain, from which, in the manner of Eden, four rivers descended to water the land. The people of the country were enlightened and of commercial dispositions. They cultivated grain and made beer. They made boats, and had intercourse with Greenland, importing pitch, sulphur, and furs. The king possessed Latin books which neither he nor any one else could read.

All of this, however, was not comparable with the reported resources of another great kingdom which lay to the south of Estotiland. There the people were still richer and happier in their abundance. The country was more productive, and the commerce was more flourishing. This country was called Drogeo. The king of Estotiland would fain verify the reports which had

Drogeo

reached him from it, and to this end he procured the assistance of the Frislanda fishermen. A
Drogeo fleet of twelve vessels was fitted out and sent to the south. They were wrecked on the coast of Drogeo, the crew were made captives, and most of them were slain and eaten; for the people of Drogeo were cannibals. The old fisherman, who now told the story of all this to the king of Frislanda, said that he had been spared from the common destruction because he was able to teach the Drogeans how to fish with nets. The king of the country made the old fisherman his fisher-in-chief, until other kings, hearing of him, went to war to get possession of his person. Thus he was taken from place to place because of his fame in fishcraft.

Then follows the story of what kind of people they of Drogeo were. Evidently the king of Estotiland had been sadly deceived as to the part nearest him, though not as to the more remote regions. The northern inhabitants were naked barbarians, suffering severely from the cold because they were too ignorant to dress in the skins of slain animals. They had no metal, but used lances of sharpened wood, and bows with sinew strings; and were ferocious fighters and cannibals. Each tribe had a chief, and laws of its own which differed from tribe to tribe. But their temper grew milder and civilization increased as one went south; there they had cities, and temples dedicated to idols, where they made human sacrifices whose flesh they afterwards ate. There also they used gold and silver.

At last the old fisherman, after twenty-six years, got away from his captors and returned to tell the story in Frislanda. His narrative was accepted as history, and other sailors claimed to have verified so much as related to the finding of new lands in the west. Zichmni himself fitted out a fleet of exploration, and took command in person, though accompanied by Antonio Zeno as lieutenant. They lost their reckoning in fog and storm, and landed on the shore of a country called Icaria, named after Icarus the son of Dædalus, "King of Scotland." The native people of this country were of ten tribes, each having its own language. They were small in stature, shy in disposition, and easily stampeded; in which case they would flee to their homes in caves or artificial dens. They killed several of Antonio's party, however.

Icaria

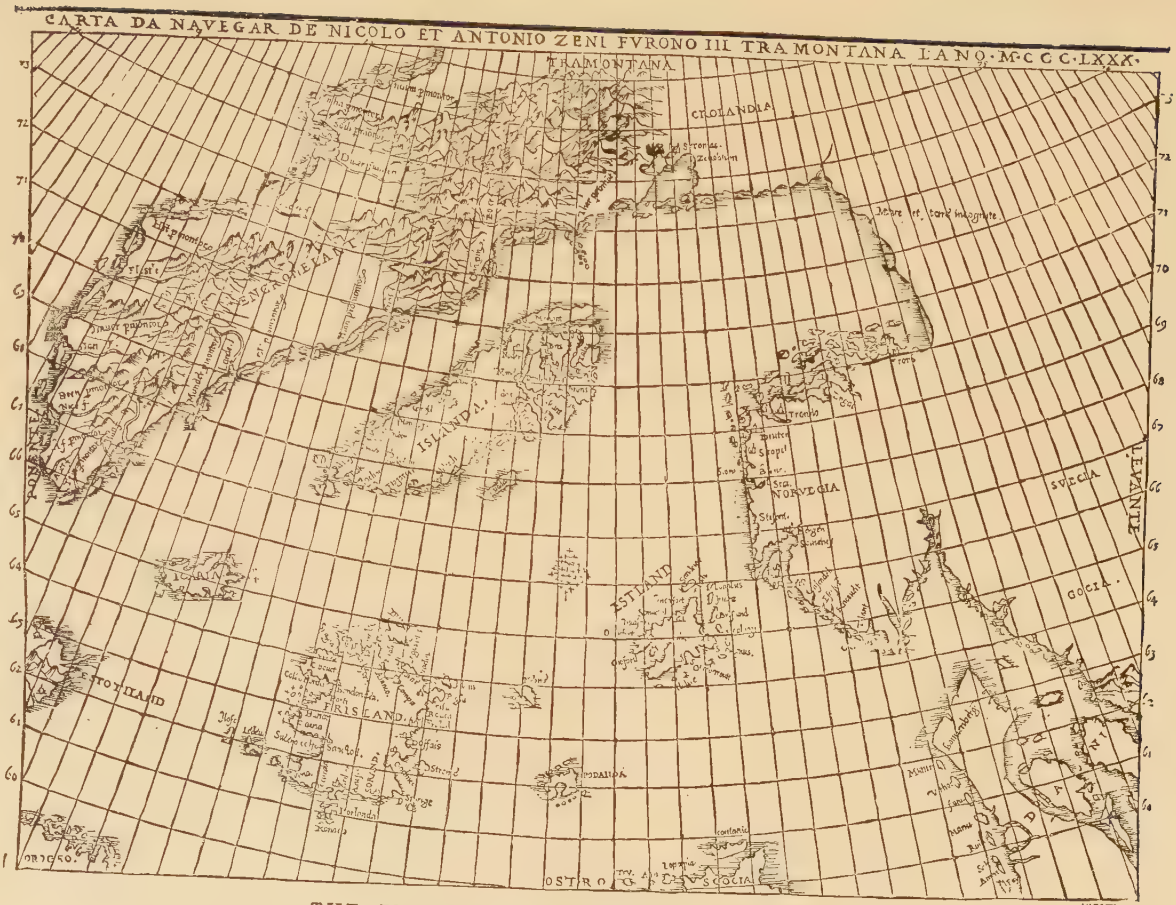
Again sailing west six days and northeast four, they reached a place which they took to be Greenland, but which had a fertile soil and good rivers. On leaving there, Antonio (Zichmni remaining behind to explore the country) sailed twenty days east and eight days southeast before reaching Frislanda. Antonio closes his last letter with a glowing tribute to Zichmni, "a prince as worthy of immortal remembrance as any who ever lived, for his great courage and wonderful goodness," and a promise to be with his brother shortly, perhaps taking advantage of Zichmni's absence to abscond. He did reach home, but died soon after.

Fate of the Zeno letters

In this letter Antonio referred to a book of travels which he had prepared, containing among other things a map of the North Atlantic Ocean, including the islands over which King Zichmni reigned. All these things—book, map, and letters—lay forgotten in manuscript for many years, till one Nicolo Zeno, a descendant of Antonio in the fifth generation, fell to playing with them in childhood and tore them to fragments, most of which were thrown away. In mature life the accounts of discoveries in the new countries aroused his interest, and brought to mind what he had done with his ancestors' accounts of travel. In vain repentance, he gathered together what he could find of the letters, pieced together the map, and gave the relics for publication to Francesco Marcolini, a Venetian editor, who issued them in 1558.

Inconsistencies of the Zeno story

It must be said at once, that neither the facts nor the dates of this story can be made to harmonize with known facts, nor is any explanation yet made consistent with them or with itself. The names and places vital to its reality are not identifiable; the description of one at least (Estotiland) is suspiciously like the imaginary Columbian descriptions based on the Garden of Eden. The description of the life in Greenland can hardly have been true of that settlement, though it was true of Iceland. The final voyage is absurd, as such tracks and length of sailing could not reach such lands, nor reach home from them. Nicolo the Elder cannot have sailed before 1390, a date



THE ZENO MAP. (? ABOUT 1400, OR 1558 ?)

which throws all suggested identifications into confusion. The Venetian state in those days kept minute track of all voyages of its citizens, but no trace of these is found upon its records or literature. The letters to Carlo Zeno must have been well known.

Were the Zeno letters gospel?

Is it then a fact, as held by some late investigators, that the whole affair is a pure forgery of the younger Nicolo, with his clever confederate the publisher Marcolini, to accredit his ancestor with a pre-Columbian discovery of American lands; that text and maps alike are made up from the mass of reported voyages and of maps before 1558?

It is an easy way to cut the Gordian knot and solve this fascinating problem; but we cannot quite accept it as probable. The strongest argument against it is the exceeding badness of the work as a forgery, though it is very interesting if even a partial truth. Nicolo the Younger, if a forger, made up a story so meagre, confused, blundering, and often unintelligible, that he would seem to have been lacking in ordinary intelligence. The basis of this theory is, that he was a fabricator of great skill and cleverness; but if this is a fabrication, he certainly was not so. Had he been inventing a tale, he could hardly have restrained himself from inventing a much better one, clearer and more creditable to his ancestor. The most important part of the discovery he does not even make that ancestor claim, but only credits him with hearing it from some one else. To have

heard an old fisherman's "yarn" was no great glory for a Venetian noble. Our best judgment is, that the younger Nicolo had before him real letters or pieces of letters as he claimed; but that they made either no connected or no satisfactory story, and that he attempted to create one from them by "restoration" and addition, with the result of discrediting the whole. The map was probably as good as invented outright.[1]

The true explanation?

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[1] The chief supporter of the authority of the narrative was R. H. Major, followed by John Fiske. Their explanation is as follows: "Zichmni" is a desperate effort at writing "Sinclair." The "king" was Henry Sinclair, created earl of the Orkneys and Caithness by Haco VI. of Norway, in 1379. "Frislanda" is Italian phonetics for "Faeroislander," or the Faroe Islands. The natives were Scandinavians. The island on which the earl lived was larger, not than "Iceland," much less Ireland (probably a misreading of the manuscript), but than "Estland" or "Esland," that is, Shetland, another Italian twist. The islands afterwards conquered were the Shetlands. The voyage was about 1390; the description of the Greenland settlement is about 1394. The church of "St. Thomas" is a slip for "St. Olaus." Estotiland may be Newfoundland or some part of the northeastern coast of America. The Latin books were relics of wreckages: it is stated that the natives could not read them. The half-naked cannibals of Drogeo, suffering dreadfully in the winter, using wooden spears, broken into small tribes each with a law of its own, and eternally at war, represent the red Indian tribes of the North. The more cultured Southern races, with cities and temples, and human sacrifices afterwards eaten, with plentiful gold and silver, are the inhabitants of Mexico under the Aztecs. "Icaria" is Kerry, on the western coast of Ireland.

The chief skeptics are Lucas in English, and Steenstrup and Storm in Danish. They say that Zichmni could not be Sinclair, as the latter was never a rebel against Norway, and died too early for the truth of the narrative, and the phonetic muddle is preposterous; that Frislanda is merely copied from a misreading of a sixteenth-century map; that Iceland cannot be turned into Shetland; that geysers and volcanoes did not exist in Greenland, but did in Iceland, from accounts of which the alleged description of Greenland is copied; that Icaria is a fiction taken from the Levant and placed in the west; that the dates cannot be reconciled with the facts of the elder Zeni's lives; and much besides. Lucas thinks Zichmni means Wichmann, a pirate who

The oldest tradition of all is the Chinese story of the finding of *something* by the people of the Flowery Kingdom in the year 500 A. D., about the time of the establishment of the first Gothic kingdom in Italy and the first incursions of the Saxons and Jutes into the British Isles. That it relates to America, however, is not only pure assumption, but untrue. Still, as tenaciously believed, we give the legend as it is told.

The Chinese story of Fusang

The expedition is referred in its authorship and leadership to a Buddhist priest named Hoei-Shin. The narrative is recorded in the great Chinese Year-Book, oldest perhaps of all existing productions of its kind. Hoei-Shin, as a navigator and missionary, sailed from Tahan in the year 500 and traversed the ocean for a distance of 20,000 Chinese *li*—whatever the *li* or wherever Tahan was. He reached a goodly country to which he gave the name of Fusang, for in that country grew the marvelous Fusang-tree, greatest and best of all the trees for the uses of mankind. Its tender sprouts the people of Fusang used for food. Its red and pear-like fruit they ate with delight; its bark was like flax, good alike for fabric and for paper.

The people of Fusang were not ignorant, but enlightened rather. They had villages and orchards. They tamed the wild animals and

Description of Fusang

did operate among the northern islands for years, and that the Zeni were purposely vague as to their doings or that their descendant makes them so, on this discreditable account. As there is no "W" in Italian, some other letter would have to be substituted. But this theory too implies genuine letters for a basis of fabrication.

made them obedient in service. There were horses and oxen and stags. There were great creatures with huge horns, and these horns the people used for measuring vessels and receptacles. There were utensils of gold and silver and copper, but none of iron.

The people of Fusang were ruled by a great king, whose retinue went before him. When he appeared in public he was preceded by trumpeters, and he wore rich robes of royal colors. Every two years his apparel was changed—such was the constitution of the kingdom—to garments of another color; but after a ten-year cycle, he returned to raiment of the same color with which he began. His name, or perhaps title, was *Ichi.*

Marvels of kingdom beyond Fusang

Hoei-Shin described the habits of the people of Fusang, the laws by which they were governed, their methods of administration, their social customs. He also narrated the still greater marvels of the people of *another* kingdom "east of Fusang" a thousand *li* distant. These other people had white bodies, and marvels of all marvels, they were all women! At this stage the narrative breaks away into mere myth and incredible story-telling. That other country beyond Fusang had its blessings on a gigantic scale: it was in fact a prototype of Swift's Brobdingnag. In that land, the silkworms were six feet in length, and the mulberry trees were a mile in height. The people were happy. They had a knowledge of the truth. They were Buddhists. More than a quarter of a century previously,

they had been visited by other emissaries of the Buddha. By them the people, white and hairy, had been converted.

The story of Hoei-Shin has been rationalized into an exaggeration of facts, by selecting incidents from various countries and different epochs of human history. Never was a mulberry tree thousands of feet in height, but the giants of Mariposa are two hundred and fifty. Never did any single tree supply *all* the wants of man, but some trees meet many wants. There have been white men and hairy men, but doubtless there were never white hairy men. Of a certainty there was never a race all women; but the story of the Amazons still stands fast in classical tradition. Oxen might be buffalo, stags might be reindeer, and there are buffalo cows. On this principle, all fairy tales are identifiable with historic facts. None of them invent anything; they merely exaggerate. The great pageant of monarchy and great splendor of ceremonial might be Aztec or Peruvian, and if possibility is fact, doubtless were such. That the countries of Tahan and Fusang and that other country beyond Fusang, with its white-hairy race and impossible trees, can never be identified with anything earthly, is no difficulty to an intrepid theorist.

What Fusang might be

Of course some such voyage as that of Hoei-Shin *may* have been accomplished. Chinese junks, no better than those employed by the navigators of China a thousand years ago, have frequently been found washed up on the western

shores of South America. They were not washed home again, however. But the belief that the country was Mexico has been repeatedly disproved. If the voyage occurred at all, the country was probably Japan.

Two other legends of New World discovery remain to be noticed. These relate to the period immediately preceding the epoch of Columbus and Cabot. It is *said* that a certain Johann Skolnus,—that is, John of Kolno,—a Pole by race and a navigator by profession, made his way across the North Atlantic in the year 1477, and that he landed on the coast of Labrador. The second tale recounts the adventure of a French navigator named Cousin, a native of Dieppe, who being at sea, was driven by a storm far, far across the rough Atlantic. At last he came to an unknown shore and the mouth of a great river. This myth intertwines itself with the Columbian story; for Cousin is said to have had on his ship, maybe as a pilot, a certain Pinzon—not only Pinzon, but Pinzon of *Palos,* the very town which contributed Captain Pinzon to the *Pinta* and another Captain Pinzon to the *Niña* of Columbus's fleet. Both may be true; they are too vague for discussion.

Skolnus

John of Kolno and Cousin

All that may be said for these recitals and others of their kin is that they are not impossible. Events never begin so boldly as they afterwards seem to begin, like promontories around the coast of human history. On the contrary, they begin by little and little. The roots of every event

are hidden far back among obscure personalities, which no man knoweth even to this day.

Character of these traditions

As respects all the semi-historical discoveries of this continent by Europeans or Asiatics, we should observe that the *finding* of the New World was one thing, and the *revelation* of the New World quite another thing. For more than three centuries after the Columbian era, the finding and the revelation were in the thought of mankind combined in the same event. The accepted laws of heroism demanded that everything should be ascribed to Columbus. History was required to stage the event in such manner that it should burst on us all at once, like the unfolding of a dramatic plot.

Columbus' honor enough

It is only within the last three-quarters of a century that historical writings have broken away somewhat from this method of delivery. The historian now concerns himself with the long lines of universal causation; and to him, at least, Columbus and Cabot and Pinzon are no more than Leif and Thorvald and Zeno. Of a certainty, no myth is to be taken for fact. But on the other hand, no fact shall be ignored or reasoned out of its place in the infinite web of things. There shall remain for all time a sufficiency of honor and fame for the remarkable personage whose deeds we are to consider in the following chapter. But his renown, and the renown of his contemporaries, can be neither heightened nor abated by refusing to concede to his forerunners the honor of whatever deeds they did, of whatever increment

they made to the knowledge of man respecting his habitation. There is at best enough of tragedy, enough of injustice, in the world's ignorance or ignoring of its most heroic helpers, without the historian's adding to it by conscious suppressions or distortions. To strip the lesser man of his few laurels for a fresh crown to the already honored great, or to strip the great of the laurels justly his due, is alike unworthy the writer or the man.

PART III.

The Columbian Era and Achievement.

CHAPTER IX.

THE VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS

At the close of the fifteenth century, mankind had been prepared by the discipline of ages for the greatest single adventure of history. The confines of the past were now to be over-stepped, and a new era was to be opened for humanity. The great oceans were to be overcome, and the fabulous terrors of the dragon-haunted deep to be dissipated. A new hemisphere was to be added to the known domains of the world. The sphericity of the planet Earth was to be demonstrated by circumnavigation. The event that was now imminent was so big with the destinies of the future that it might well be marked as the First Year of Modern History.

The chosen time

At the crisis a man appeared worthy of the age and fitted for the work. Christopher Columbus of Genoa was to be the principal agent by whom the old order of events was to be transformed into the new. He had been beaten through all the moods of adversity until he came to that moral altitude, force of will, and intellectual astuteness which were to carry him safely to the goal.

The chosen man

The date of the birth of Columbus is not known. For a long time his birth year was fixed at 1446 or 1447. In Irving's time a paragraph was found

in the writings of Andres Barnaldez, curate of Los Palacios, which Irving accepted in the following translation: "He [Columbus] died in Valladolid in the year 1506, in the month of May, in a good old age, being seventy years old, a little more or less." This would fix the year about 1436. A flood of criticism since has sought to overthrow this date, and restore 1446.

Date of birth

There are two especially important counter-arguments. First, Columbus himself says in 1501 that he has followed the sea for forty years, beginning at a "tender age," which his son says was fourteen; this would make 1447 literally, but "forty" is a round number. He *may* not have included eight years he spent off the sea in Spain, however. Second, his younger brother is said to have been born in 1468, when his mother, on the 1436 date, would have been at least nearly fifty, and perhaps more; which, though not unknown, is unusual. But later investigation puts the birth at a possible 1460, which leaves several years' margin within the usual term of maternity. Moreover, the curate knew Columbus well; and Columbus in 1505 was granted special privileges on account of his "old age and infirmities," which is consistent with sixty, but more in harmony with seventy. These facts enable the reader to judge of the probabilities for himself.

Place of birth

The exact place as well as the exact year of his birth is in dispute. We know that it was either the city of Genoa in Italy, or not far from it. There are arguments for both. His father lived

first at Terrarossa ("Redlands"), a village twenty miles inland. Then he removed to Quinto, four miles away on the coast, and was living there when Christopher was born, whichever date we fix. This would seem presumptive evidence that the latter was born in Quinto. It was not till after his birth, perhaps not till about the time he first went to sea, that his father removed to Genoa. This was between 1448 and 1451. But he was styled at the time, and signed himself, "of Terrarossa." This, on the contrary, would imply that the mother went back to *her* mother to have her baby, as is most natural. But yet again, Columbus enjoins his son never to let all their stock leave Genoa, because he was born there. He must have known, and we cannot argue against this positive statement. Probably his mother was either visiting in Genoa, or had gone there for better medical attendance than Quinto afforded. "Of Terrarossa" was probably to distinguish them from the other families of Colombos ("Doves"), who were very numerous. Historical writers have found this to their cost (or rather their readers' cost), by coming upon particulars about Colombos which they have wrongly attributed to this family. The house in which he was born is often supposed to be that afterwards occupied by his father, and still standing in the narrow street of Genoa known as the Lane of Mulcento. It *may* have been, and naturally is shown as such in that city.[1]

[1] This house was originally two stories in height; but in 1683 a third story was added. In our own century, the building had fallen

Parentage and childhood

Cristoforo Colombo, as the name is written in Italian; Cristobal Colon, as it is in Spanish; or Christopher Columbus, in the mixed English and Latin form which we have adopted,—was the eldest of five children of Domenico Colombo. The father was a wool carder and weaver; a humble profession, which afforded no distinction and little gain. He was always poor, and had to be helped by his children as they grew up. The mother was Susanna Fontanarossa ("Red Spring"), probably of the village of Quezzi, four miles northeast of Genoa. Her family too were weavers.

The son of Domenico had to learn his father's business. There is a tradition, however, that Giulio Salinero, a wise man of the neighborhood, noting the characteristics of the boy, prophesied that the wool-carder's son would one day be so great and distinguished that he would not shame the most illustrious families in Europe. When about fourteen years of age, the tall masts and broad sails of ships on the Gulf of Genoa, which he saw from the windows of his father's shop, drew him irresistibly to the sea. *There* were fresh breezes, freedom, adventure, a chance even of glory, more than a chance of gain. From the men and boys around him in the streets he heard constant tales of maritime adventure; many they must have been, and told with eager zest. There he may

Drawn to the sea

somewhat into decay; but in the year 1890, the Decuriones of Genoa ordered the house to be repaired and restored at the public expense. It is not likely that the interest of mankind will ever allow the structure to go to ruin again, or to be torn from its place by some ignorant shopkeeper to make room for his stores and merchandise.

well have dreamed of becoming a great navigator, perhaps a great discoverer.

About the year 1462, a certain Captain Colombo, surnamed El Mozo,—that is, the Younger, probably a brother or cousin of Domenico,—came into the harbor of Genoa, and the youth Cristoforo left his wool-cards and took to ship. He went with his uncle Colombo, and became a sailor in the Mediterranean. At this time there was a long-standing broil between Genoa and Venice. Besides the shocks of regular warfare, the Mediterranean was vexed with Turkish corsairs and freebooters. It was not long before Cristoforo had his own first great adventure, the story of which has been preserved in his own words as follows:

Becomes a seaman

"It happened to me that I was sent to Tunis by King Reinier (whom God has taken to himself) to capture the galley *La Fernandina;* and when I arrived off the isle of San Pietro, in Sardinia, I learned that there were two ships and a carack with the galley, by which intelligence my crew were so troubled that they determined to proceed no farther, but to return to Marseilles for another ship and more people. As I could by no means compel them, I assented apparently to their wishes, altering the point of the compass and spreading all sail. It was then evening, and next morning we were within the cape at Carthagena, while all were firmly of opinion that they were sailing towards Marseilles."

First essay at managing sailors

In course of time the youth became familiar with the Mediterranean and its ports. He devoted

himself to the irregular commerce of the sea as it was practiced by El Mozo. At length for the first time he worked his way through the straits of Gibraltar and arrived at Lisbon. He made a voyage down the coast of Africa, and was presently able to write in his *Book of Prophecies,* but not without exaggeration: "Every sea that has been sailed on until now, I have sailed on likewise."

An experienced voyager

Once in the open Atlantic, Columbus as a sea captain found England, and then the northern parts of Europe. He also had a touch of battle. The historian Bossi narrates that between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent, Admiral El Mozo and Captain Cristoforo, with their ships, fell in with a Venetian fleet, attacked it, and met the penalty of rashness. The Columbian ships got on fire, and Cristoforo was obliged, in order to save his life, to swim on a floating oar to the beach two miles distant. He finally gained the shore, where he was with difficulty resuscitated by some Geonese sailors.

A cartographer

Afterwards, Columbus returned to his native city. But the condition of affairs was unfavorable for the fulfillment of his dreams. The Genoese were in a distracted condition politically, and were almost constantly at war with the Venetians. Either after these voyages, or somewhere between them, he studied at the University of Pavia; we do not know how long. He learned Latin well; he studied geography, astronomy, and mathematics; he became an excellent draftsman, and graduated from the humble drudgery of

PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR.

MARTIN BEHAIM.

PROTAGONISTS OF THE EASTERN ROUTE TO THE INDIES.

weaving into the business of a map and chart maker. This was then what electric work is now: the expanding craft to which capable workmen, with good hands and heads, naturally turned.

Thus skilled, and to put the skill in practice for the furtherance of his fortunes, about the year 1470 he departed from his native city and went to Lisbon. To that city his younger brother Bartolommeo had preceded him. The latter was already a distinguished cartographer, and was the leader of the Genoese colony in the capital of Portugal. The interest of Prince Henry the Navigator in exploration and geography had made Lisbon the centre of such studies, and his patronage had drawn thither the ablest experts in all Europe. Christopher became a resident there. At intervals he took to the sea and made voyages to the farthest known limits of navigation, repeatedly voyaging down the African coast.

Goes to Lisbon

There too he found his first wife, Donna Felipa (Philippa) de Perestrelo. She was far above him in social rank, being the daughter of a distinguished Italian navigator and important official, then dead; but was doubtless attracted by his splendid presence and noble expression, his intellectual capacity and his charming manners, to all of which his associates bear witness. The marriage was to have rich fruits for him besides those natural to a congenial union. It is possible that to it he may have owed the purpose to which he owes his immortality. Perestrelo had been governor of the Portuguese island of Porto

Marriage and its results

Santo, three hundred miles from land, and had left his daughter a small property there, to which the couple retired for their honeymoon. Many papers and charts of his voyages were preserved, which Columbus carefully studied. The island was a port of call for ships to the Guinea coast; and by far the greatest question in the commerce and exploration of the day was whether that coast had an end, and if so, whether the end could be reached, and with it the sea route to the Indies found. And if the Western Ocean could be sailed three hundred miles, why not three thousand? and he thought the distance to Japan five hundred miles less than that. Other men might *think* this: it was for Columbus alone to dare it.

Dawning of Columbus' purpose

Revisiting Lisbon on various occasions, at last he settled there once more. And now we have solid proof that the design of reaching the Indies by westward sailing had become a fixed purpose in his mind. But we must beware of crediting him, or any one of this age, with the idea primarily of discovering *new* countries across the waste of waters. Nothing was further from human thought: all wished simply to discover new routes to old countries. Columbus to his dying hour believed that he had done that, and only that; he thought it a libel on the utility of his work to hint that he had only done the other. The seemingly new ones he believed to be merely outlying islands of the Indies, hitherto not known by name, but really a part of the same regions of spices and gold.

Object of mediæval exploration

In a former chapter of this History, we have set forth the urgent, the almost vital need of finding such routes. The luxury of the upper-class life of Europe, much of the daily comfort of the middle class, depended on the Eastern commerce which Moslem hordes were strangling. Had it been supposed that the expeditions would be so luckless as merely to find new masses of waste land, they never would have started. Columbus would not have planned one; no sovereign, not even Isabella, would have give a farthing toward one; no official would have counseled one. Uncultivated lands, savage lands without cities or courts, without trade of spices or perfumes or balm or royal dyes, of silks or gems—what would they have of *them?* If they were found, it was only as an incident of the true purpose and advantage of the expedition; worth while, but not as a sole result. Once found, they flocked to them for curiosity, for adventure, for power, for the gain that had become evident; but at first the one emotion was overwhelming disappointment. Columbus was mocked and loaded with chains; the "New World" was thought a little achievement; the real heroes of the hour were those who

Motive of exploration

"Braved the stormy spirit of the Cape."

It is sometimes said that Columbus attempted to interest his native city of Genoa in the enterprise first; the date has been set at 1470, 1475, and other years. There is too little evidence to support this, or the other statement that Venice was

Columbus solicits Genoa?

included in the solicitation. What is certain is, that in 1474 both the court of Portugal and Columbus were keen with eagerness to know if a shorter route could be found to the Indies than by the African coast. Hope of reaching the end of the latter had practically died away. Only two years before, navigators had reported that that coast, which had turned sharply eastward at the Gulf of Guinea and promised a not distant southern point, turned westward again; none could guess its termination.

Toscanelli

The most eminent astronomer and geographer of the age was Paolo Toscanelli of Florence. He was then seventy-seven; but he still retained all the hopeful glow of youth, and all the zeal of the true scientist, combined. Perhaps the garrulity of age was added. He was an enthusiast over the glories of Cathay and the Great Khan, his marvelous cities and his lands of spices and gold; and had long talked of them, and of the means of reaching them, to whomever cared to listen. To him Alfonso V. of Portugal now addressed an inquiry concerning the shortest road to these Eastern riches. The message was sent through one Fernando Martinez of the royal household; an old friend of Toscanelli's, who had talked with him on the subject, and most probably prompted the king to make the inquiry. On June 25, 1474, Toscanelli replied, stating the reasons for his belief that from Lisbon to Quinsay (Hang-Chow in China) was but 6,500 miles. He inclosed also a sailing chart (see opposite page), to make the

route more clear. According to this, the distance from the Canary Islands to Cipango (Japan) is little over 3,250 miles. Even so, the voyage is broken about 1,000 miles out by the fabled island of Antilia (commemorated by our Antilles), so that the longest stretch of naked ocean is not far over 2,000 miles. It will be seen at once where Toscanelli's error lay. He has extended the breadth of Asia till the eastern coast of China is where our Pacific Coast should be, and Japan would divide the Gulf of Mexico and annex Louisiana to Yucatan.

Error of Toscanelli

Not long afterward, Columbus wrote to Toscanelli asking the same question. The old man courteously replied, and inclosed copies both of his letter to the king and of the sailing chart. Again Columbus wrote, evidently outlining his exact plan for the voyage. Again the aged astronomer sent a reply, full of warm interest, congratulating Columbus that the voyage had "become not only possible, but certain." Alas! it did not mature till ten years after the venerable enthusiast had closed his eyes in death, at the age of eighty-five.

This recital alone will have made it plain that it would be absurd to credit Columbus with originating the idea that an open sea path led from Europe to the Indies. The idea which he did originate was that of making a personal voyage to test it. The theory was no novelty among the circle interested. The novelty was the practical seaman who was willing to risk himself, in the

Columbus' real novelty

petty craft and with the poor equipment and nautical appliances of the day, on the faith of the theory. Others might believe intellectually: he believed bodily.

Toscanelli's last letter was probably received some time in 1475. Columbus doubtless would fain have taken advantage of the Portuguese king's interest and the exigent needs of Europe, to begin the adventure. But Portugal for years was at war, and unsuccessful war, with Castile (not yet "Spain"): its energies and its funds alike were needed close at home. Meantime Columbus voyaged, wrote, and studied. Let us see what each of these activities betokened for his supreme career.

Columbus' Arctic voyage

His voyages were for an object bearing directly on what had now become his one absorbing passion. He wished to make observations on the climate of torrid and of arctic regions. One of the great obstacles in his way was the widespread belief, inherited from earlier times, that progress south or north was inexorably limited by blazing lands and boiling seas, or by eternal ice and darkness. The hot south grew hotter, the cold north grew colder, till man might go no farther. He wished to demonstrate that these were idle fables, mere bogies of ignorance and panic. To this end, he sailed first in 1477 (it would seem) to England, and thence to Iceland and a hundred leagues beyond. His own account is as follows; we translate it very literally to show the one difficulty in accepting it as authentic.

"In the year 1477, in the month of February, I was cruising beyond Tile [Thule] island a hundred leagues, whose southern portion is distant seventy-three degrees from the equator, not sixty-three degrees as some will have it; it does not lie within the lines which bounds Ptolemy's west, but is much farther westward And to this island, which is big as England, go the English with their goods, especially from Bristol. And at the time I was there the sea was not frozen, although the tide ran so high that in some places it rose twenty-six fathoms, and alternately ebbed as much. And it is a fact that the Tile of which Ptolemy makes mention lies where he said, and and this the moderns eall Frislanda."

"Frislanda" is the Faroes. The use of this name has been held a strong support of the authenticity of the Zeno voyages: that their names of places were accepted before Columbus' time would be evidence that the letters were handed around and discussed at the time. Later critics think the account itself—given as a fragment in the "Life" attributed to Ferdinand Columbus—either fictitious or interpolated. We shall accept it as genuine. But how can Columbus—no ignorant seaman, but a competent scientific navigator—have located southern Iceland at 73° north latitude? Beyond question he must have omitted a word or two here, or else this part of the account is interpolated by another hand, as the last sentence may have been. Three hundred leagues would carry him to the island of Jan Mayen, which does correspond nearly to that parallel, and Columbus most likely meant this part of the description for that island. His rare good fortune in

finding open water there in February confirmed his belief that the arctic terror was unreal.[1]

Tropical voyage

Several years later (about 1482 or 1483) he voyaged in the contrary direction, to the Gold Coast, and spent some time at the fortress of San Jorge de la Mina, making observations on its torrid climate. It was probably after this that he wrote a book now lost, on the Five Habitable Zones, to disprove the fables noted above, about regions impenetrable from heat or cold.

Relevant studies

During these years also he read the voyages of Marco Polo and "Sir John Mandeville" (then supposed to be genuine); the speculations of Albertus Magnus and Vincent of Beauvais, on his chosen theme; and many others; but one most thoroughly of all. This was the "Image of the World," written in 1410 by the Cardinal Bishop

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[1] It has been argued that he probably heard of Vinland here, and gained an idea of the possibility of the voyage therefrom, or at least was greatly strengthened in his purpose. Such a fact seems plausible, but must be set aside. The Toscanelli letter shows that the voyage was "certain" in his mind long before. Furthermore, Vinland was supposed to be a northern *island* with hard winters (see "Pre-Columbian Voyages," Chapter II.), and Columbus was not looking for islands of miserable unknown savages and wild grain and wild grapes, nor for *northern* lands at all; he did not in his voyage go in that direction; he never used such knowledge in his sorest need to conquer incredulity, although he used much less convincing arguments about driftwood and floating corpses, and still more significantly, sailors' stories of strange coasts they had sighted on the Atlantic voyages. The notion is based on what we have proved above to be a wrong idea, that Columbus expected to discover something new. He merely expected to show a new way to something old. A still more convincing argument is that made glaringly evident from our pre-Columbian map: that even the true position of *Greenland* was not known till after Columbus' time! It is absurd to suppose that Greenland was put on the wrong side of Iceland, and yet Vinland was properly located and used for a guide.

PAOLO TOSCANELLI.

of Cambrai, Pierre d'Ailly, Latinized into Petrus Alliacus. The important portion of this was taken almost bodily from Roger Bacon (1267), and included many quotations from ancient authors as to the size and form of the earth. This Columbus crowded thick with marginal notes, which still exist.

He studied also Toscanelli's chart; but he thought Toscanelli's worst error an error in exactly the wrong direction. Toscanelli had exaggerated the breadth of Asia by several thousand miles, and correspondingly narrowed the ocean to be traversed. Columbus added several hundred more, leaving little over 2,500 geographical miles, or less than 3,000 English miles, from the Canaries to Cipango. The sanguine dreamer's wish was father to his thought, or rather it determined his choice of authorities. Toscanelli had computed the earth's circumference only 124 miles above the true figure. Columbus chose to rely on Ptolemy, 1,300 years earlier, and assume it as 20,400 geographical miles, or 23,510 English miles, some 1,500 miles short of the truth. On the parallel of the Canary Islands, at this figure, it would be only about 18,000 geographical or 20,750 English miles. This was doubly confirmed to his mind. First, his calculations on his voyages had convinced him that the length of a degree at the equator was 56 2-3 geographical miles, not 60 as Toscanelli had correctly estimated it. Second, an Arabian work written in 950, but translated into Latin about 1450, agreed with Ptolemy.

Conclusions as to earth's size

These new figures were most comforting to Columbus. His favorite Alliacus had copied out of Roger Bacon several passages from classic writers, which asserted that the sea was but small and the habitable lands great. Seneca, perhaps following the almost startling forecast of Strabo,[1] boldly asserted that the sea could be crossed in a few days with favoring winds. Still more important to the deeply religious mind of Columbus was the statement from the Book of Esdras, that six parts of the earth are land and but one part water. Esdras was not a canonical book; but it was part of the Bible, esteemed by many learned theologians as inspired by God. If God said that one-seventh only of the earth's surface was water, and that circumference at the Canaries was 18,000 miles, then 2,571 miles must carry him to Cipango. But this was a very much shorter route than that by the African coast could possibly be, wherever that coast might end. It was on these measurements that he based his own faith, and his claim to the help of the Portuguese court.

Negotiations with Portugal

The Portuguese wars over, and Columbus back from the Guinea voyage (1483 or 1484), he made a more resolute effort to obtain the help of that court. Portugal, now with John II. at the head, had taken up exploration with renewed

[1] That from the small extent of the then known world (in Augustus' time, about the Christian era) compared with the size of the globe as known from astronomy, there might well be one or even two more great masses of habitable land in the zone of Greece. In fact, the parallel of Athens passes between Pekin and Tokio in China and Japan, and between Washington and Richmond in America. No scientific guess at the unknown in all antiquity equals this.

D. JOAÕ II,
13º. REI DE PORTUGAL

vigor, aided by Martin Behaim's greatly improved astrolabe. Columbus in the royal presence, probably in the year 1484, set forth his plans and offered his petitions. The king referred it to his Junto of geographers. They rejected it as "visionary."

Columbus before King John

But King John was loth to give up so brilliant a scheme. He called a special council of the most eminent men of learning in Portugal, both clergy and geographic scientists, to consider it further. Columbus repeated his story and his arguments to them. He appealed to their desire for the new trade he should open, rich in treasure and vast in extent. He would return from a miraculous voyage bringing the richest and most glorious fruits of enterprise. For this, he himself should be rewarded. The king must crown him with honor. He must be made Admiral of the Ocean. He must have a liberal part of all the gains. His family must be ennobled, and his descendants must reap the same benefits and honors as himself.

Portuguese opinion divided

Opinions in the council were divided. Some were convinced by Columbus' arguments, some perhaps seduced by the splendor of the visions opened. Others, of the scientific section, had the right of the argument, and correctly inferred from Marco Polo's travels that it could not be so far across Asia as Toscanelli and Columbus estimated; and if so, then the ocean must be correspondingly wider. It is sometimes more injurious to be right than to be wrong. Perhaps we may

put it in this way, that a noble dream is always worth the experiment. The world can afford a hundred disillusions and failures for the chance of one grand new advance. There were other objections. The country was poor, drained by its old war and the financing of the explorations along the coast of Africa. And Columbus wanted too much; a mere adventurer must not expect to become so great, whatever he accomplished. Rarely until the English settlements in America has the rise of men from the ranks been welcomed with real cordiality. Besides, if the government lavished such promise of honors and riches in advance, and then the affair were a fiasco, it would be laughed at all over Europe.

Unwillingness to reward Columbus

The weight of opinion was adverse. The Junta were of opinion that the best thing to do was to press the circumnavigation of Africa, but not to attempt the demonstration of the Columbian scheme—at least not openly! At the instigation of the nobles and prelates (certainly not of the men of science), the usually fair-dealing monarch stooped to a base trick, which was worthily punished. Columbus was not honestly told to look elsewhere for patronage, as the Portuguese court was not inclined to help him. The king asked to see his plans for the voyage, to consider further of the matter. Then he sent a ship on an ostensible trading journey to the Cape Verde Islands, with secret orders to undertake the western voyage. Thus, if it succeeded, Portugal would have all the gain and the glory, with nothing to pay, and

Shabby Portuguese trick

no greedy forthputting foreigner to deck with pomps. If it failed, at least Portugal would not be made ridiculous.

But the crew and the pilots were appalled at the bare thought of that vast lonely ocean; they said one might as well expect to discover lands in the sky; and they returned to Lisbon, where the news was soon spread on the thousand tongues of gossip. Thus the opportunity of finding the New World was lost to the Crown of Portugal, and reserved for that of Spain. Columbus indignantly shook the dust of Portugal from his feet, and set out to find a more hopeful and more honest court.

Portuguese sailors "flunk"

Finding that he was surrounded with intrigue and treachery, Columbus seems to have been for a season discouraged. Besides, he had no skill in the mercenary arts. He exemplified the maxim that money and genius rarely abide under the same roof. By making maps he could barely procure the means of subsistence. Out of such resources he could never hope to sail on a voyage of discovery. He had now resided in Lisbon for fourteen years, and it had come to a question of daily bread!

Leaving his wife with an infant and perhaps another child, the Man of Genoa took his little son to a sister of hers. Then, with a heart in which the ashes of disappointment were thinly heaped over live coals of wrath, he set forth as a mere adventurer to tempt the fortunes of other lands. He went to Spain, to present himself at the court

Columbus leaves Portugal

of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand the Catholic. Here he would renew his argument and appeals for patronage.

Columbus in 1485

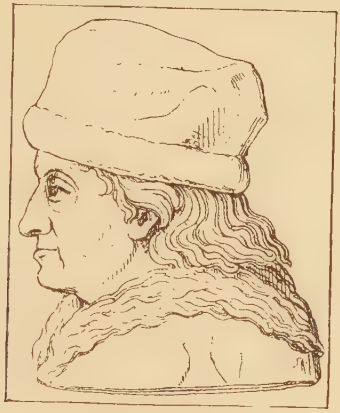
The following year in the life of the discoverer is as obscure as it was no doubt sorrowful. His wife died soon after he left Portugal. A Genoese writer of more than two centuries later says that in the hope of finding help, Columbus made a journey to Italy, to enlist his native republic of Genoa in the enterprise; a Venetian writer a century later still says that he also appealed to Venice. We can only say that as yet, nothing is known of his movements to conflict with these traditions: but they are also placed much earlier (as we have previously noted); and so late a tradition is of little value. The first real knowledge of him after he left his boy is on Jan. 20, 1486, when he appears at Cordova in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Goes to Cordova

The historical condition of Spain at this juncture was unfavorable to the proposed enterprise. The final struggle of the Christians with the Moors, begun in 1481, was now on, and the expulsion of the latter from Granada was near at hand. Ferdinand had undertaken the conquest of the Moorish kingdom, and was absent from the Castilian capital. Columbus followed the monarch to Cordova, the ancient capital of the Moorish caliphate, where the Christian court had been held during the progress of the war. There by some means he found favor enough to be granted a place in the royal service, and a means of subsistence.

FERDINAND AND ISABELLA
OF SPAIN.

JOHN II. OF PORTUGAL.



EMPEROR FREDERICK III.

CHARLES VIII. OF FRANCE.

HENRY VII. OF ENGLAND.

EUROPEAN SOVEREIGNS IN COLUMBUS' TIME.

Their Majesties, however, had little time to bestow on adventure. Columbus' case was turned over to Fernando de Talavera, confessor to Isabella. He was doubtless a learned man after the fashion of the day; and the interests of religion as well as of science and commerce were bound up with Columbus' scheme. Talavera disfavored it because, if true, it would not have waited till then to be known. Such arguments have been heard even in the United States. Late in the year the royal couple repaired to Salamanca, the seat of a celebrated university. Here the doctors and other men of learning, were summoned by the confessor for a consultation. By this time hope was gaining on conservatism. There were other enthusiasts besides Columbus. Though all the objections that ignorance and superstition could discover were brought forward to overwhelm him, a stout minority upheld him, including several priests. The winter of 1486 was consumed in these deliberations. In the following spring the royal pair began a fresh campaign, this time against Malaga; the court removed from Cordova, and Columbus and his dream were stranded in a common wreck. He was left to narrate his griefs and repeat his arguments to a few court stragglers, among whom was the friar Diego de Deza, afterwards Archbishop of Seville, whom he won over to his side.

Futile council

Malaga campaign causes delay

Columbus followed the court to Malaga when that city surrendered, but without result. His advantage still lay in engaging the interest of as

many court officials as might be; and for another year he remained in Cordova. There he met and won the beautiful Beatriz Enriquez, whom, though not lawfully his wife, he treated with fidelity as such during the remainder of his life. She bore him a son (Ferdinand, his father's biographer and champion) on August 15, 1488. Then he journeyed to Lisbon to greet his brother Bartholomew, who had come home some months before from the great expedition of Bartholomew Diaz, that discovered the Cape of Good Hope and passed four hundred miles beyond it into the Indian Ocean. King John readily granted Columbus a passport securing him against arrest or ill-treatment by officials while in Portugal: probably the harassed man of genius had left the country without being able to pay all his debts. The king was perhaps ashamed of his trick against Columbus; not improbably he was anxious to have the great mariner back, to aid in prosecuting the now almost certain route to the East.

Sends his brother to England and France

But Columbus was only the more eager to test his own shorter and easier route, for such he believed it to be. The brothers agreed to work together for this purpose. Bartholomew was to try first the court of England; if that failed, then the court of France. England was not yet the power which exactly one hundred years later defeated the Grand Armada, and long before that had swept the seas, and had plundered and sunk the fleets and sacked the seaports of Spain; but she was even then a vigorous naval state, and her

Bartholomew in England

king was reputed the wisest in Europe. But Henry VII. was thrifty and cautious above all men; he was slow to decide. So Bartholomew turned to the French capital. He followed his profession of map-maker for the officials of the court and the leading nobles; and he gained the ear and the warm interest of the sister of Charles VIII., and sought for a commission from that long-legged and weak-headed young king.

Bartholomew in France

Meantime Christopher had returned to Castile: he would not trust Portuguese faith again, and the king in any event would not think of a new route when he had just found one so promising. Still the Moorish war was dragging on. The energies of the kingdom, and the attention of public men both clerical and secular, were absorbed in the struggle. Columbus took part in the campaign of 1489, and distinguished himself; doubtless the favor it gained him counted later. But for the present, there was no hope. In despair, he resolved to seek the French court in person. But as one last chance, he appealed to two leading grandees of Spain, to invest their private means in the enterprise. The first rebuffed him; the second gave him the first practical encouragement he had ever met. The Duke of Medina-Celi, Luis de la Cerda, was impressed both with the scheme and the man. He took Columbus home to his castle; kept him there as an honored guest for two entire years, while in the intervals of other employments he thoroughly canvassed his scheme; and at last agreed to fit out two or three vessels

Help from Medina-Celi

for the expedition at his own charge. But the queen's permission was needed; and Isabella would not give it, though the Duke offered her a share in the venture. His willingness had probably roused her for the first time to a sense that the plan was a promising one, and if so she wished the profits herself. She told him she had not fully decided, but if she did engage in it, he should have a share. She kept the promise as King John did his: the Duke was not even allowed to trade in the West Indies after Columbus had discovered them, though he told the queen truly that but for him Columbus would have gone to France. In monarchs, and just as well in republican governments (who are every whit as great sinners), these performances are called "statecraft." In private individuals they are given another name.

Isabella balks Medina-Celi

This was in the spring of 1491, when the monarchs were gathering their forces for a final assault on Granada, the last citadel of the Moslem power in Spain. Isabella turned over the Columbus matter this time to another priest, the treasurer of Castile, Alonso de Quintanilla. This was a different order of person. It might have been expected that even as treasurer, this official would think his resources strained quite hard enough providing the sinews of war, without financing visionary expeditions. Strange to relate, he was warm in Columbus' favor. Probably the vision of enriching the treasury with streams of Eastern gold, and the taxes on a new inflow of Eastern commerce, dazzled him. Columbus followed the

Isabel-la's treasurer favors Colum-bus

royal couple to the camp; but even had they been more zealous in his cause, they had no time for it there. The mariner's last hope vanished. He decided that nothing was left but to go to France. He seems to have purposed to gather all his flock, hunt up his brother Bartholomew, and settle in a new country to try his persuasion upon other courts.

Columbus starts to leave Spain

Some time in October, it would seem, he took his boy Diego, now at least eleven, from the aunt who for seven years had given him a home, and set out upon his heart-sick journey. His road lay by Seville to Cordova; there doubtless he intended to take with him also his all-but wife and his other son. The route took him past the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria de la Rabida, overlooking the Tinto and the destined town of Palos, a mile and a half away. Here the tradition of his poverty, of his plea for bread and lodging, runs through all the gamut of pathetic romance. The Father Superior of La Rabida was Juan Perez, who had been Isabella's confessor for a time until thirteen years before; but he was no hide-bound intellectual bigot. To him, Columbus while resting told the story of his dreams and his sorrows, and his purpose to abandon Spain forever.

At La Rabida

Father Perez saw what Spain would lose if this were indeed a true vision. Palos held two citizens at that time who could judge better than he. One was the physician Garcia Fernandez, whose hobby was geographic discoveries. The other was the ship-owner and navigator Martin

Alonso Pinzon, of whom we have already caught a traditional glimpse in connection with the alleged voyage of Cousin of Dieppe.[1] These he called into council with himself and Columbus. All became converts; and Pinzon, the one who could make personal proof of his sincerity, proclaimed his readiness to undertake the voyage.

Perez persuades Isabella

But the good monk, a man of energy, did a far more important service. He wrote to the queen in the camp at Granada, stating his firm belief in Columbus' plan, and the latter's intention of forsaking Spain. Isabella was alarmed. If Columbus really would not wait, her treasury and her glory might be shorn of vast accessions. She ordered Father Perez to come to the camp. Perez went at once, and pressed the facts upon the queen with the fervor of conviction and the weight of a trusted religious confidant. The queen directed him to have Columbus attend her at the camp once more, and sent a present of about $1,200 (20,000 maravedis) the expenses of the journey. Columbus joyously bought himself new clothes and a mule to ride, and about the beginning of December accompanied Juan Perez to the camp.

A new council

This time there was no delay. A council was called at once, comprising some of the most eminent church dignitaries and men of learning in the two kingdoms. Opinions had changed much in the last few years. Talavera had thought it over and come around to Columbus' side. The

[1] See *ante*, page 261.

archbishop of Toledo, Mendoza, was heartily in his favor. Deza, the confessor to the queen, and Quintanilla, the Castilian treasurer, we have already spoken of as convinced. Luis de Santangel, the treasurer of Aragon, another cleric, was equally fervid, doubtless for the same reasons. The queen engaged to decide the matter as soon as Granada surrendered.

The officials favor Columbus

Not many days afterward—on Jan. 2, 1492—that event occurred, and the last vestige of Moslem authority was swept from Spain forever. It would be well if History would allow us to contemplate the event as an unmingled blessing; but while Christianity is a far better social and political system than is Mohammedanism, Spanish Christianity was in some ways one of the most injurious types, and Spanish Mohammedanism one of the least injurious, of their respective systems. Elated with the victory, their Majesties now heard Columbus patiently; but when he set forth his own claim to one-tenth of all the gains which might come from his discoveries, and to recognition as Admiral of the Ocean and Viceroy of the new countries which he saw in vision, they disdainfully brought the council to an end. This adventurer might come to be a prince overtopping the mightiest of Spain; even a new prosperity for the country was not worth that.

Columbus asks too much

Columbus, however, was not to be browbeaten, even by royalty. He was not greedy for vulgar riches; but he wished great wealth in order to have great power to carry out his magnificent

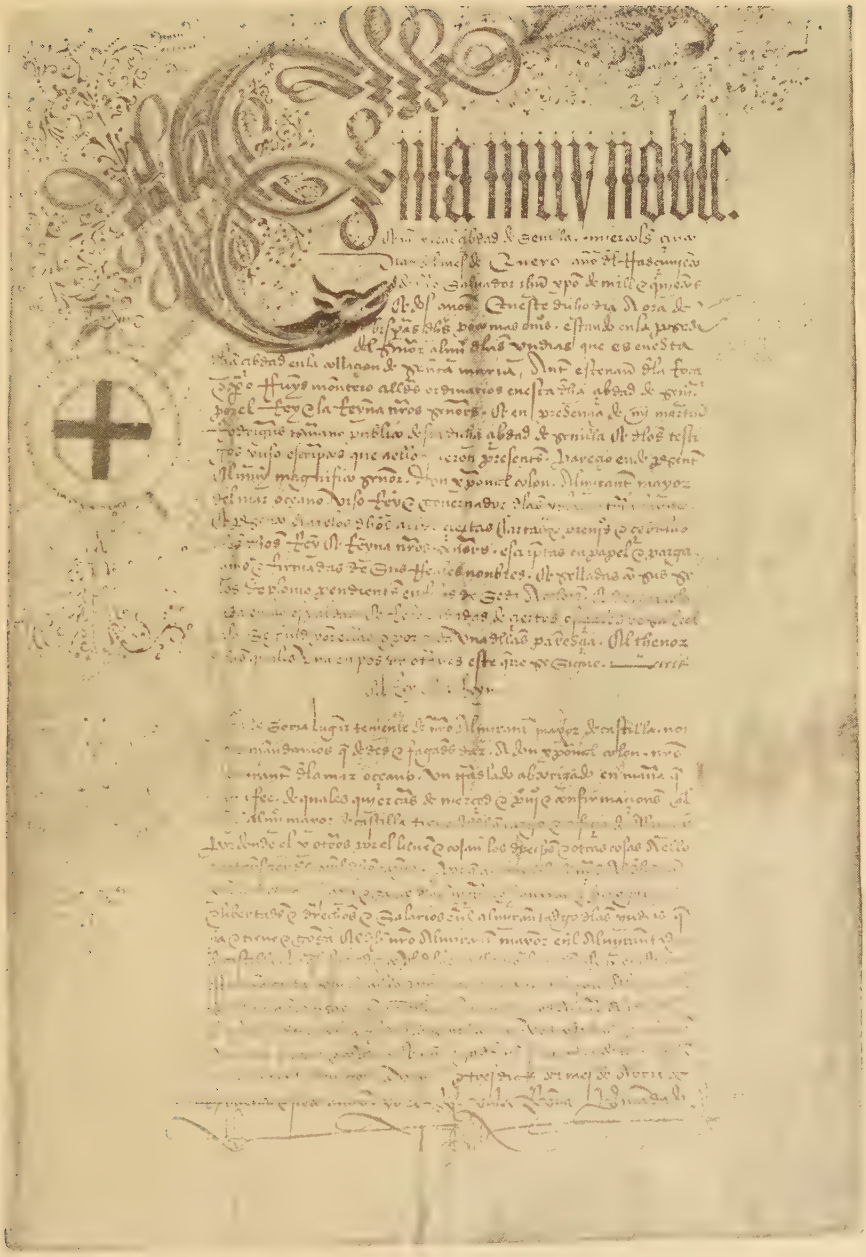
plans of driving the Mussulman from Europe and from the Holy Land, and once more turning back the Crescent before the Cross in a tide of Christian conquest. He departed from the court with the resolution never to return. He mounted his mule and set out to leave the kingdom. He would see if Charles VIII. was as determined as Isabella that he should have no adequate reward for his risks and his life schemes, which no one else had the heroism to undertake.

Isabella yields at last

Downcast but unshaken, Columbus was crossing a bridge a few miles from Granada, when his mule was seized and turned about by the royal messengers who had hurried after him. The two treasurers, whose golden visions were vanishing in air, had energetically besought the queen to recall her decision. The Marchioness of Moya, Beatriz de Bobadilla, bosom friend to Isabella, had joined her appeal to theirs. Isabella yielded, and sent for Columbus to come back. With proud joy he turned back to Sante Fé, the stone camp-city built to occupy while Granada was besieged, and where the court was then sitting. There on the 17th of April, 1492, the preliminary agreement was made out and signed by their Majesties of Spain. This paper, and all the subsequent royal documents which were given to Columbus, are still preserved in duplicate in the columnar urn under the bust of Christopher Columbus, in the Green Room of the municipal palace of Genoa.[1]

Preliminary agreement signed

[1] These documents are a part of the charge of Signor Angelo Boscassi, Archivista of Genoa, who has the Green Room of the Muni-



FIRST PAGE OF THE COMMISSIONS OF COLUMBUS.

By the terms of his first commission, Columbus and his heirs forever were recognized as High Admirals and Viceroys of the lands and seas which he might be the first to discover in the West. He was to be the autocrat of the Ocean, and was to have one-eighth of all the profits of the enterprise—this on condition that he should himself provide one-eighth of the expense. In order to meet this demand, he called upon friends (possibly the Pinzons, though Las Casas doubts it; more likely rich nobles like Medina-Celi) who subscribed his portion of the fund. The remaining seven-eighths was advanced by Castile. Isabella claimed for her own kingdom all rights and profits in the new Indies or the trade to the old ones, Aragon to have no share—probably to Santangel's disappointment. Her Majesty's treasury, however, was not full, and she was obliged to borrow from her lord. Santangel loaned the sum required, probably about seventeen thousand florins, from the treasury of Ferdinand; and the security?—It may be that the romantic story, long precious to mankind, relative to the pawning of her jewels by the queen, has this foundation: namely, that security was required by the prudent Santangel for the loan: "for this our enterprise may prove abortive, and in that event how shall we return the seventeen thousand

Raising of funds

The pledge of Isabella's jewels

cipal Palace in his keeping. The author has had access to them in the preparation of this work, among the many original sources thus consulted; their use to hand being greatly assisted by a transcription and translation of Bautista Spotorno.

florins to the treasury of his Majesty of Aragon? Perhaps her Majesty would secure to us the sum for which we make ourselves responsible?" "That I will do," says the queen: "here is my jewel case in pledge for the seventeen thousand florins."

Preparations for equipment

The spirits of Columbus rose with the occasion. For his part, he made a vow that he would consecrate his portion of the profits accruing from the enterprise, toward the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre from the Infidels. He was eager to get away from Santa Fé, but about two weeks were occupied with the preliminary arrangements.

It chanced that at this time the seaport town of Palos was indebted in customs, or for fines of some sort, to the Crown; and an order was accordingly issued to the authorities of that place to make good the sum due, by setting apart and equipping two ships for the use of Christopher Columbus. This was to include the manning of the vessels as well as the supplying of provisions and equipment. Finally, on the 30th day of April,[1] the royal letters patent were made out in accordance with the terms already agreed upon; and the great commission was given in duplicate to Columbus. In it he was confirmed in all his dignities. One copy was made out to be filed in the archives of the kingdom. The youthful Diego Columbus was appointed a page in the royal

Commission of Columbus

[1] After two hundred and ninety-seven years, the man Washington will follow the man Columbus in fixing this immortal date in the history of mankind.

COLUMBUS (SEVILLE).

household, and after another fortnight Christopher was ready to depart. On the 12th of May, the cheerful Columbus set out for Palos. How did he dream on the way! The vision of the Indies was in his brain. The mule that carried him was all too tardy in reaching the destination.

Columbus sets out for Palos

Arriving at Palos, Columbus was doomed to meet another of those ever-recurring discouragements with which his whole life was shadowed. There was perhaps never one other prominent leader of human affairs who was subjected to such violent vicissitudes of exaltation and despair. One day the barometer of his hopes would rise to the most fervid heights, and on the next day the fickle column would drop into the very bulb of despondency. In this respect, his moral and intellectual constitution was incessantly provoked by the conditions with which he was surrounded.

In the present instance the discouragement came from the alarm of the men of Palos. They were absurdly agitated with their fears. To furnish two ships was little; but to send crews of citizen sailors on a voyage that could only end by the dropping of the ships, far, far out on the unknown voracious ocean, into the abyss beyond the horizon of hope, was more than they could bear. They refused to comply with the royal demands. Columbus showed his commission, but this only increased the rebellion. It seemed that the whole enterprise had been suddenly arrested.

Resistance of Palos

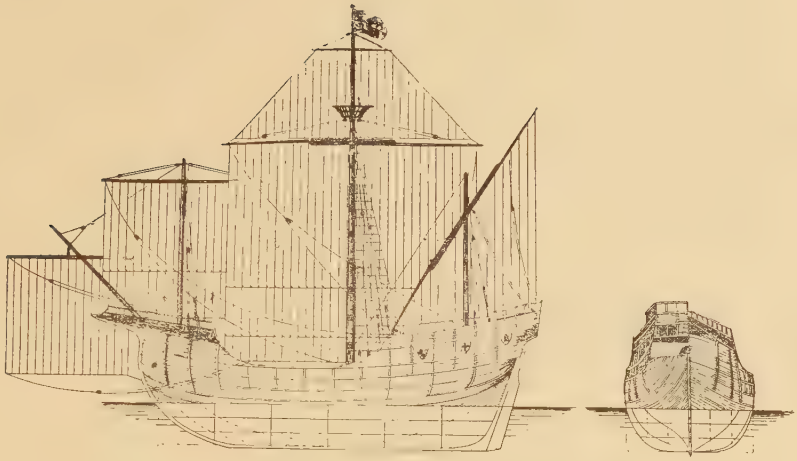
One angry little town, however, could not resist the entire Castilian government. Moreover,

the three Pinzon brothers used their persuasions and the force of their personal example to quell the disturbance: two of them were themselves to go on the voyage. The vessels, three in number, were impressed for the expedition, however long it took; but the town was only charged with two, and those for two months. The three were, in order of size: First, the *Santa Maria,* owned and commanded by the Biscayan Juan de la Cosa, later one of the distinguished names on the roll of early American explorers. Second, the *Pinta,* the swiftest sailer of the three, owned by two Palos men who went with it in a very ugly frame of mind, and commanded by Martin Pinzon. Third, the *Niña* or "Baby," commanded by Vicente Yañez Pinzon.

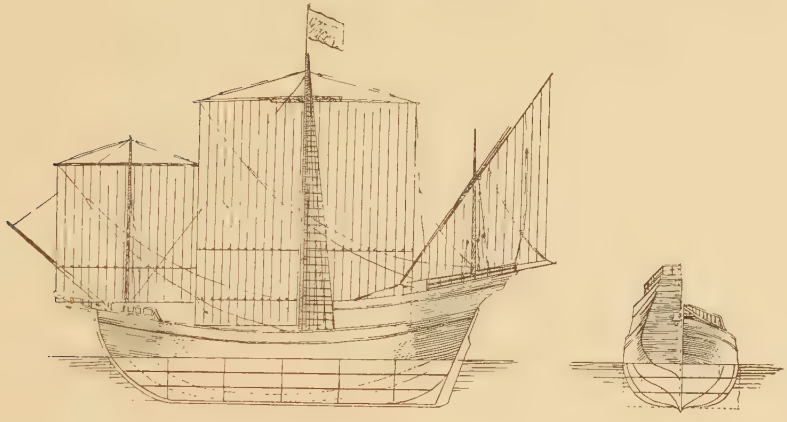
His vessels and crews

Thus came the caravels and crews of Columbus. He selected the *Santa Maria* for his own vessel, and hoisted the flag of Castile and Aragon. This was the caravel of the period, a small vessel with a broad bow and high narrow poop, carrying four masts and triangular sails. The larger kind of caravel had a deck amidships, with a high forecastle, also covered spaces at the ends. The *Niña* and the *Pinta* were without the midship decks, but had the covers fore and aft. All three were light vessels, capable of making considerable speed.[1] The *Santa Maria* was the heavier and the

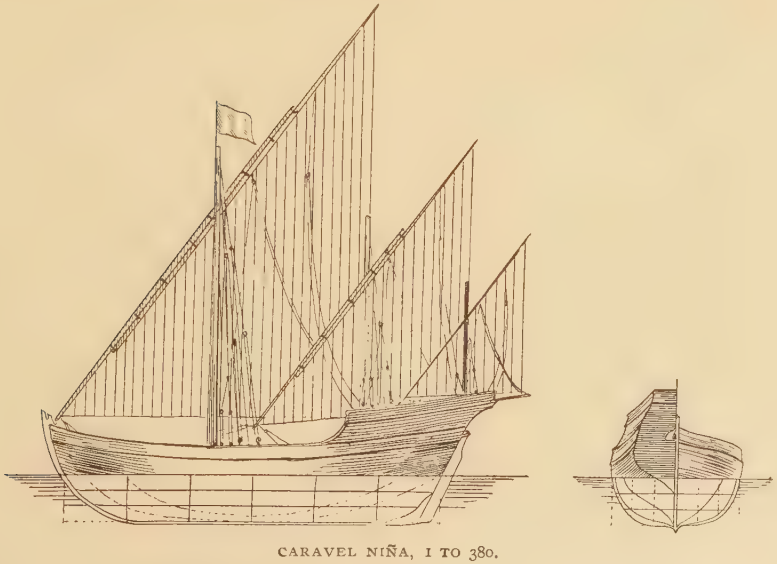
[1] In the year 1872, the fleet of Columbus was reproduced by the Spanish government in commemoration of the Year of Discovery. Three caravels were prepared in exact imitation of the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Niña*. These were displayed at Palos in the Spanish celebration on the four hundredth anniversary of the sailing of the



SHIP SANTA MARIA, 1 TO 464.



CARAVEL PINTA, 1 TO 444.



CARAVEL NIÑA, 1 TO 380.

COLUMBUS' FLEET, DRAWN TO SCALE.

slower sailer. She was of about one hundred tons' burden, being sixty-three feet over all, fifty-one feet keel, twenty feet beam, and ten and a half feet draft. All three of the vessels were armed with a kind of rude guns, called *Lombards*. The crews numbered fifty men for the *Santa Maria,* and nearly the same for each of the other two. A suitable cargo of supplies was provided, and the expedition was made ready.

Columbus' fleet

On the morning of the 3d of August, 1492, out of the harbor of Palos (at the present time little more than a waste beach of sand with a few houses here and there), the little fleet sailed away down the sea to the unknown west. It was the beginning of a voyage which in its results was destined to change the order of human affairs, and determine the outlines of history for centuries to come. The ships passed the bar of Saltes at the mouth of the Odiel, and then dwindled to winged specks on the sea. The blazing sun of Spain rose behind them. The sound of the bells in the steeples of Huelva, ringing a farewell chime, grew faint in the distance and died on the morning air. The last signal between the sea and the shore was exchanged, and the voyage of discovery had begun.

The fleet leaves Spain

Columbus commanded the whole. The discoverer sailed by the chart he had prepared from Toscanelli's hypothetical map. His destination

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Discoverer, and were then sent to America to become a part of the exhibits of the great Columbian Exposition, where they were to be seen by the millions at the Lake front during the summer of 1893.

was the northern end of Cipango (Japan), thence to reach Cathay. His method was the usual one of the day, in the imperfect state of nautical science: to sail (in this case south) till he reached the right parallel (that of the Azores), then straight out upon it (west). From the first day he kept a journal of the voyage, in which he recorded a kind of personal history, full of interest for the incidents encountered on the way, and for his own reflections and hopes.

Treachery, home and foreign

From the start there were conspirators in the fleet, anxious to have the voyage fail before it was well on the way. It was not long until these, led by Rascon and Quintero, the owners of the *Pinta*, and by the dark-browed Juan Perez Mateos, a natural mutineer, began to make trouble. The *Pinta* lagged behind and made false signals of distress; the rudder was broken, and had doubtless been tampered with. The Admiral made his way to the Canary Islands, which luckily were Spanish, and where the fleet remained from the 9th of August to the 6th of September, making repairs.

In the mean time, the news of what had been done had reached Portugal; and it was reported (probably with truth, as later events indicate) that John II. had determined to intercept the fleet, carry Columbus back to Lisbon, and compel him to make the voyage for Portugal, thus regaining the advantage which he had lost in dismissing the adventurer years before. It was a stupid idea, for it would mean instant war with Spain; but anger and jealousy often do not reason. While

Columbus was in fear of being discovered by the Portuguese squadron, he had at the same time to explain away the terror of his crew on account of the volcano of Teneriffe. That ocean peak began to send up into the night volumes of black smoke and luminous tongues of fire. To the ignorant sailors it seemed like an outburst of Tophet; but the Admiral talked to them of Ætna and Vesuvius, and thus calmed their fears.

Terrors of the sailors

After leaving the Canaries, September 6, the fleet was becalmed for three days. Then the wind sprang up, and Ferro, the last of the group, disappeared from view. Now indeed had the voyage into the unknown begun. The sailors broke out into wild wailings of despair. As for the Admiral, looking abroad on what was before him and behind him, he might have said, with a future poet of England:

"All delicate days and pleasant, all spirits and sorrows are cast
Far out with the foam of the present that sweeps to the surf of the past;
Where beyond the extreme sea-wall, and between the remote sea-gates,
Waste water washes, and tall ships founder, and deep death waits."

But he knew that if the crews gave way to utter despair, there was no resource against their mutiny. Man for man, even ten faithful could not resist eighty. He therefore kept them a little deceived as to the distance they had gone; not too much, so that they would suspect. From his own

Columbus deceives them

Garbling the log

daily log he struck off ten to twenty per cent. in his report to them, gradually increasing the misstatement as time wore on and they grew more despondent and frightened. On the last day before despair gave place to assurance of success, he reduced the figures from 189 to 138. This was perilous, but imperative. There can be no doubt that the expedient saved the expedition. They all but mutinied at a supposed 2,500 English miles, with no land in sight: had they known it was over 3,000, they would certainly have risen in rebellion.

The needle not to be trusted

The minor incidents of the voyage need not detain the reader. They have been narrated a hundred times in nearly all the languages of Europe. On the third day out from the Canaries, a floating mast was found. This was a good omen. Soon the pilots discovered that the needle of the compass was veering from its accustomed balance; in fact, the ship had crossed the magnetic line of equilibrium. This produced a fright, and the Admiral had to allay the excitement by inventing some dubious astronomical facts. Further on a meteor shot majestically down the sky and dropped into the sea. This seemed to portend destruction, and the Admiral must explain the phenomenon and translate it into a good omen.

The Sargasso Sea

Then came cloudless skies and smooth seas. On the 16th of September the squadron entered the immense plains of seaweed to which geography has given the name of the Sargasso Sea, estimated to include about 1,300,000 square miles.

Through this the ships of Columbus had to struggle at a slow rate of progress. The sailors thought that the vessels would be here fixed forever until they should wither and rot on the deep; but the Admiral said, "Sail on, and on."

At length, however, the fleet emerged from the ocean of seaweed only to enter what was called the *Mare Tenebrosum,* or Shadow-haunted Sea. This was the real trial of the voyage, for here reigned the fabulous monsters and goblins of the unknown deep. Here, from his sea bed, arose at intervals the awful Kraken, three times as big as the island of Sicily, a horrid polypus to which the Pieuvre of Victor Hugo is less than a periwinkle. This creature would float up from his bed and suck into his horrid nostrils the whole fleet.

Fabulous dangers

But all these dangers were safely passed. The Admiral showed himself equal to every buffeting of fate. At the equinox the ships were again becalmed. Frequently the spirit of mutiny appeared. Half the energies of Columbus were consumed in watching the indications of the sea and sky, and the other half in soothing or reducing his crew to obedience. At last, on the evening of the 26th of September, there was a cry of "Land!" Several officers thought that they saw the outline of a shore. The Admiral could see nothing; but he altered his course, only to find on the following morning that the discovery was elusive.

On the morning of the 2d of October, the breezes began to blow from the west, and land

birds were seen flying back and forth. On the night of the 3d, conspiracy again showed its head, but was suppressed. On the 4th, the land birds sang about the ship, and there was a general revival of courage. Two days afterward, Martin Pinzon tried to induce the Admiral to change his course to the southwest, but he would not. Again there was a hallucination of land, and there were alternations of high hope and deep despair.

Land birds seen

On the evening of the 7th of October, a flock of field birds passed over the ship, chattering as if on their way to their native meadows. Columbus noticed that some of them were *small and of feeble wing*. Thinking he might have gone north of Cipango, on the next morning he veered in the direction of the bird flight, and followed the harbingers. On the 9th, live crabs were seen in the drifting seaweed, and then the air became faintly pervaded with odors from distant shores. The elated Admiral thought that he was already inhaling the fragrance of Indian spices and the perfume of tropical flowers.

On the 11th of October, there could be no longer a doubt: meditated mutiny gave place to excited hope. In the evening the Admiral ordered the course to be resumed due west, and he assured his officers and men that with the morning, land would be in sight. At 10 o'clock he saw a gleam of light, which wavered a moment and then disappeared. Two other officers saw it also. The night wore on. Two o'clock in the morning came. The *Pinta* was sailing ahead. Roderigo

Certainty of land

de Triana was on the watch. Others were with him, but he had the quickest eye. At length through the starlight he shouted, "Land, ho!" The signal gun of the *Pinta* was fired. The *Santa Maria* and the *Niña* drew alongside. There for a certainty lay the long-sought shore! No delusion now! No mirage to vex us further; but a veritable outline of land rising along the sea. At the Admiral's order, the ships lay to and awaited the morning light. It was scantily over a month since they had last seen European land.

Land at last

With daybreak on the morning of October 12, the shore of an island about two leagues distant was clearly revealed. Great was the rejoicing. Now was the Admiral a prophet. Everything was made ready for the landing. Uniforms were donned as if for a review under the eyes of majesty. The ships were trimmed and prepared as if for evolution or battle. All arms were cleaned and brightened, and (O ye Spaniards!) loaded with powder and ball. All fear had been dissipated; nature had resumed her sway over men who were mutineers yesterday, but now ready to fight like Crusaders. The late all-but mutineers were at Columbus' feet, worshiping him and fawning on him for his favor.

With the sunrise and a brief sail shoreward, everything came fully into view. The island was long and low and beautiful. No mountains or hills appeared in the distance, but only luxuriant forests looking like great orchards. There among the trees were men walking—naked men, greased

First view of America

and painted, peeping out in great wonder at the Spaniards and their ships. They gesticulated and then receded from sight, but came again overcome by curiosity.

Ceremony of possession

The Admiral put on his scarlet coat and all his rich attire. He took the royal standard of Castile in his hand and entered his boat. The Pinzons, also gorgeously clad, made ready with their respective banners. F and Y were on the flags; these loyal letters are the initials of our sovereigns, Fernando and Ysabel. In their names and in the name of Heaven we take our course to shore. The boat of Columbus leads the way through the crystal waters. Gaining the beach, the Admiral is the first to spring upon the sand. He prostrates himself and joyously kisses the ground. Then he rises to his knees and begins in the solemn language of Rome the prayer which he had composed for the occasion, afterward adopted by their Majesties as the initial ceremony of discovery. "Thou Lord and God," said the Admiral, "eternal and omnipotent! with Thy Holy Word thou hast created the heaven and the earth and the sea. Thy name be blessed and glorified! Thy Majesty be praised, which has been exalted by thy humble servant, that thy name be known and proclaimed in this other part of the world." Then rising he set up the banner of Castile, drew his sword, and took possession of the island in the name of the sovereigns of Spain.

The event showed that the great mariner had found the island of Guanahani, so called in the

native language. Columbus gave to it, however, the name of San Salvador, or Holy Saviour, and took formal possession of it for Spain. It was one of the Bahamas, generally identified by English authors with Cat Island. At the present time it is so represented on the maps, or by the Lucayan name of Mayaguani. There is nothing like certainty upon this point, however, as the descriptions cannot be identified beyond dispute. A very strong argument has been made for Samana, otherwise known as Atwood's Key or Cay.[1]

Place of landing

Columbus supposed that he had found the Indies. The islanders, on the other hand, thought that the Spaniards were visitants from the upper world. They thought the sails of the ships to be wings on which the vessels had been gently borne down out of the sky. The simple folk made overtures of intercourse, with a reference which greatly moved the Admiral. They drew near and touched his garments, and finally his beard.

Since these people, mused the Admiral, are but a detached branch of the great races of India, we shall call them INDIANS. True, they do not answer to the conventional description given by Marco Polo of the natives of Mangi and Cathay, but they are, we think, a division of the same race. We are in India, and Indian shall be the name of the people always.

The "Indians"

What was the first thought of the Spaniards? Gold. Does the island produce gold? Vainly the Admiral appealed to his interpreters to help him

[1] Spanish *cayo*, island.

to intelligent intercourse with the Guanahanians. One of his men, the language-burdened Luis de Torres, understood Hebrew and Chaldee, and another could speak Arabic. But of what use were the languages of Shem and Ham as a vehicle of speech with the simple islanders of the Bahama seas?

Natural products

Columbus at once adopted the expedient of selecting intelligent natives with a view to instructing them in Spanish, so that they might be used as interpreters. Seven of the "Indians" were thus chosen and taken on shipboard for instruction. Soon it was learned that there was no gold in Guanahani. The natural products were few, simple, subtropical. The most important was the cotton plant. The utensils of the islanders were quite primitive, made mostly of wood. But the articles showed a fine degree of skill and were curiously carved. The food staples were fish and a kind of bread called *cassava,* produced from the root of the yuca palm. As for fruits, the best were the cocoanut and the banana.

Guanahani

During the two days of his stay on the southeast coast of Guanahani, Columbus gathered specimens of all the products, and then began the circumnavigation of the island. The landscapes were beautiful. Springs and streams of fresh water abounded. The forest was rich with tropical foliage, or matted with luxuriant vines. There was but little cleared ground. The native villages were nestled among the trees. In the centre of the island was a lake.

For a while everything went well with the natives. They were gentle and humane. But taken altogether the island was of no great consequence. It did not suggest colonization. The soil was cultivated in many parts, and there were orchards and gardens which might be favorably compared with those of Spain. But no signs were seen of great wealth or large communities. The island, as we know, was one of the smaller Bahamas, lying between the coast of Florida on the one hand and Cuba on the other. The natives told Columbus, as he understood them, that there were "more than a hundred" islands in this sea. To explore these, and to reach the mainland of Cathay or Tartary, and to present his letters to the Grand Khan, were the next ambitions of the Admiral.—Such, then, was the DISCOVERY OF AMERICA. Men of a civilized race had reached the West Indies, and the finding of the mainland must soon follow.

Results thus far

We are here to recount briefly the remainder of the first Columbian voyage. Asked where they found their gold, the natives pointed southward. Columbus thought this indicated Cipango. He hastened his departure from Guanahani, and after a sail of about fifteen miles, he discovered a second island. Friendly relations were cultivated with the natives, who after their manner saw and narrated all things in the large. They unconsciously magnified the facts, and thus, with their gesticulations and ejaculations, deceived the discoverers. The desire to please overcame

the spirit of truth. It was not long until the natives discovered the pleasing character of the myth of gold. Ever afterwards they allured the Spaniards onward and on, with the aurific stories which they invented. Thus began the disappointments and the disillusions of the Admiral.

Further discoveries of first voyage

On the 16th of October, the second island, which Columbus named Santa Maria de la Concepcion, was found and explored. Rumor had gone before, and the inhabitants were out in force. The expedition went forward rapidly. At Santa Maria, the first exchanges were made between the natives and the Spaniards. An Indian came out in his boat and offered balls of cotton thread, and the Spaniards gave him gewgaws in return. He was sent back with a gaudy cap on his head. They covered him with shining beads and with hawk's bells that jingled as he went. After this the news spread rapidly, and wherever the Admiral went his ship was surrounded with the canoes of the natives.

A third island, lying to the west, was found on the 17th of October. This, Columbus named Fernandina, in honor of his king. The natives improved in character, so the Admiral thought, as he progressed from island to island. He imagined that a good trade might be established with them, and that they might easily be persuaded to become Christians. The Spaniards could but be impressed with the naïve simplicity of the islanders. Little clothing was worn by them. The houses were rude huts or light tent-

like structures, but were clean and neat. They were made of logs and branches and palm leaves, interwoven. The furniture was of primitive designs and workmanship. The Spaniards noted with particular interest the beds, which were constructed of cotton network, swung from one post to another, and called *hamacs*—one of the few West Indian words contributed to our language.

Hammocks

The Admiral had by this time become convinced that the archipelago in which he found himself was inhabited by tribes of a common family. The languages were all dialects slightly variant from a common form. The manners of the natives also were nearly identical in the different islands. They received the visitors with the same sentiments and usages in all parts of the cluster. One of the most striking facts about the villages was the ever-present flocks of domesticated parrots, crying in the banana-tops their half-articulate ejaculations of surprise and welcome.

Native languages

Parrots

On the 19th of October, the voyage was resumed. The next island was Saometo. There, said the natives, lived the emperor of all the islands, and there were mines of gold and precious stones. Columbus found the island to be beautiful and well inhabited. "Here," said he in his journal, "are large lakes, and the groves about them are marvels; and here in all the island everything is as green as April in Andalusia."

Illusive native stories

But alas for the emperor and the metropolis and the gold mines! These were not found; they were further on. This island the Admiral called

Isabella, in honor of his beloved sovereign. Soon he took ship and set out for Cipango, that great island which he was seeking, beyond which lay the opulent Cathay. The great island was indeed found. It was Cuba, so called in the native language. The discoverer made his way thither by the Muscaras group. Beyond that cluster the long undulating coast of Cuba was seen. The shore was reached on the 28th of the month, and possession was taken in the name of the king and queen.

Cuba thought to be Cipango

The natural scenery of the great island was magnificent. Here it seemed that nature was never weary of bringing forth. Fruits and flowers appeared on every hand. There were magnificent groves of palm-trees and bananas; the latter laden with such clusters as had never been seen in Europe. The earth was green; the forests were alive with song-birds; the rivers swept along bank-full of crystal water. Parrots and flamingos were seen through the great green leaves, and humming-birds darted hither and yon. On the beach the shells of the pearl oyster were found.

The island appeared so large that Columbus was disposed to think it continental. Was not this Asia? He examined into the resources of the country, and assured himself that gold might be found. Some of the villages were as large as towns. The houses were more richly supplied than were those in the Bahamas. The inhabitants told him that in four days he could reach *Cubanacan*. This word, meaning simply "centre of Cuba," the Admiral thought to be *Kublai Khan*. Therefore

And near Kublai's court

with the map of Toscanelli before him, he made it out that a journey of four days would bring him to the court of the King of kings!

In the next place, the fleet coasted along to and beyond the Cape of Palms, but the expected "great river" by which he was to ascend to the capital could not be found. Then the Admiral coasted in an opposite direction. He adopted expedients with the natives to bring out their stock of gold. He despatched an embassy with his polyglot Jew, who understood Hebrew and Chaldee, to the court of the Grand Khan. At one place the fleet ascended a river for several miles. On the banks of this stream, pseudo-cinnamon and spurious nutmegs were found; and evermore was repeated the tradition of gold, gold, never found, but always promised.

Search for Kublai's court

Columbus also heard of a land further on where the cannibals dwelt; and this, alas, was true! Meanwhile, the Spaniards observed the superstitious ceremonies of the natives. In one place the Cubans carried certain dried leaves which ever and anon they rolled up and touched to the fire. They then took a charred stick and drew the smoke of the burning leaves through the charcoal into their mouths, afterwards puffing it forth in little clouds. The name given to the covering of the roll was *tabaco,* and thus the secret was out! Old Las Casas, describing the process of smoking, says that *"it took away fatigue!"*

Tobacco first seen

The embassy into the interior was not void of results; for the ambassadors, though they did not

find the Grand Khan of Tartary, found Indian corn and potatoes—more useful to mankind than all the khans of Asia. Columbus meanwhile repaired his ships and began to anticipate the homeward voyage. His stay on the coast of Cuba extended to the 19th of November. It included a cruise along the coast of several days' extent. Then he sailed away and found Babeque, about twenty leagues distant. He encountered a storm, however, and was obliged to sail back to the Cuban port. In the meantime, on the 20th, Martin Alonso Pinzon became insubordinate and sailed away with the *Pinta,* the fastest vessel of the three, Columbus knew not whither. It appears that Pinzon conceived the project of making discoveries for himself; after that he would return to Spain in advance of the Admiral and announce the New World to their Majesties.

Pinzon deserts

The fleet was thus reduced to two ships; but with these Columbus, again on the Cuban coast, reached the westernmost extremity of the island, which he thought to be a cape of Asia. Had he gone further he might easily have discovered Florida, but he returned to the east again. After another brief voyage, he landed on Hayti, which he named Española, or, in Latin form, Hispaniola, "Spanish country." Here the landscape seemed like that of Europe, and the vegetation was more splendid than anything which the Spaniards had thus far seen. A good harbor was found, and the blue smoke of towns curled up in the distance. From this island the discoverers took a young

Hayti discovered

woman with a pendant of gold in her nose. The native manner of life was similar to that of the Cubans. The monarch had twenty wives. There was no law of real property; no landmarks to show possession of the soil; no fences or walls dividing the homestead of one man from that of his neighbor.

Haytian barbarism

But Española was not one of Marco Polo's lands. It did not abound in gold and gems. On the 14th of December the Admiral stood out to sea and found the Tortugas, but he returned at length to Española. It appears that in these days the notion of reaching the court of Kublai Khan was a little dimmed by practical considerations. The Admiral took up the question of the resources of the West Indies, and considered them as a field for colonization. In his journal he made notes of the insular governments and the conditions of native society. Meanwhile winter—such feeble winter as the tropics may bring—descended, and the weather was no longer serene.

At this juncture, the Admiral, leaving the rudder of the *Santa Maria* to the helmsman one day, went to sleep, and the helmsman himself followed the example of the master. The vessel thus got into one of the ocean currents and was cast on a sand-bar. The masts were cut away. The hull began to rock in the breakers, and the sides opened. The faithful *Santa Maria* careened and fell over, a helpless wreck. The cargo was rescued with the help of the natives; but the *Pinta* was gone, and the Admiral must save himself and prosecute

Only one vessel left

his work as best he might in a single tiny craft, which would not hold nearly all the men that were left. This suited the crew, a part of whom were eager to remain behind and bask in the tropic air with the tropic females.

So it was thought best to build a fort from the timbers of the *Santa Maria,* and this was accordingly done. Columbus called his blockhouse and the harbor on which it was situated *La Navidad,* "the Nativity"—for he had anchored there on the eve of Christmas Day. This done, he put all his trophies on board the *Niña* and made ready for the return voyage. He had secured some specimens of gold from the natives of Española, and thought he should soon have "a ton" of that metal! His visions came back in the Holiday week of the memorable year 1492. On the 2d of January he gave a feast to Guacanagari, a prominent chief of the island; and then, leaving about forty of his men in La Navidad, he sailed away on the morning of the 4th of January, with mutual cheering and farewells between the shore and the deck of the little *Nina.*

Return voyage

The incidents of the return voyage need not be recounted in detail. The Admiral had a well-founded apprehension that Martin Pinzon might precede him to Spain and claim the honors of the great discovery. Such indeed had been Martin's project, but he had troubles of his own to overcome. Columbus had sailed only a short distance from La Navidad when the missing *Pinta* was seen across the waves! Pinzon made such excuses

as he could for his ill-concealed defection, and the voyage to the European coast was resumed by the two ships. The *Pinta's* mainmast was injured, and she was forced to remain with her companion.

Pinzon rejoins Columbus

For the most part there was pleasant sailing. Sometimes, owing to the constant tacking against the east wind, the direction was lost. On the 12th of February, both ships were nearly sent to the bottom by a storm. It was here, near the Azores, that Columbus sealed up in a cask and threw overboard a hasty account of his voyage and its sublime results. A wreck seemed inevitable until the night of the 14th, when the tempest subsided and the voyage was resumed. Subsequent events showed that the storm had been unprecedented in its terrors. The whole western shores of Europe were strewn with the wrecks of vessels. The *Niña* and the *Pinta* had been hopelessly separated; for the time neither knew the fate of the other. The sails of the *Niña* were burst into tatters, and on the following morning the problem was how to save the ship from perishing in the breakers.

Columbus nearly wrecked

The shore was now in plain view. It was one of the Azores, called St. Mary Island. Columbus had insisted that it was part of the Azores; while the younger Pinzon, and the experienced pilot Sancho Ruiz, considered it part of the Madeiras. Columbus sent a party ashore to give thanks to the Virgin Mary for their safety; the Portuguese governor seized them as prisoners, as the king of Portugal had ordered all his insular governors to do with Columbus' entire party whenever it

Portuguese violence

appeared. Columbus discovered the scheme before falling into the net, however, and furiously threatened the governor with a war of Ferdinand and Isabella against Portugal if his men were not released; and the cowed governor gave up the men after a five-days' imprisonment. But another storm blew up before the discoverer reached Spain, and carried him irresistibly to the promontory of Cintra, near Lisbon. There safety might be found in the estuary of the Tagus. Very reluctantly did Columbus work his ship under shelter of the shore, and come to anchor in Portuguese waters. As soon as possible he announced himself to the King, telling of his discoveries and declaring that he had not transgressed against the rights of Portugal in the West. Great was the excitement in Lisbon. The Admiral and his crew were helpless in the presence of a Portuguese man-of-war. The King, who was thirty miles away at Valparaiso, sent for the discoverer to visit his court and narrate the circumstances of his voyage. Meanwhile the adventurers should be supplied with all things necessary for their welfare.

Stranded in Portugal

The Admiral went to court and told the story of his wonderful discoveries. Greatly was the king moved by the narrative. Openly he honored the Admiral, but secretly he planned to dispute his claims and to gather the fruits for his own kingdom. The animosity at court ran so high that a Jesuitical scheme was revealed to assassinate the Admiral, and thus end his pretensions for ever. But the king sent him safely

Portuguese animosity

on his way. Returning to the Tagus, he set sail for the Spanish coast. On the 13th of March, he sighted the well-known bar of Saltes. At noon on the 15th he cast anchor in the bay of Palos, thus completing the most memorable ocean voyage in the annals of mankind. The expedition had occupied a period of two hundred and twenty-five days—an interval according to the calendar brief, but in its experiences and results the richest in modern history.

Columbus' first return

The arrival of Columbus at Palos produced the greatest excitement. A flame of enthusiasm sprang up and spread fire-like inland and throughout the kingdom. The court at this time was sitting at Barcelona. As soon as the Admiral had been greeted by the excited people of Palos, and welcomed in their name by the faithful Father Perez, he began his preparations to visit their Majesties to report the marvelous news.

Reception at Palos

Towards sunset on that memorable Friday, a ship was seen coming across the bar. It was the missing *Pinta!* Martin Pinzon's vessel had been driven by the furious tempest into the bay of Biscay. There the captain had yielded to temptation. Getting into the harbor of Bayonne, he composed a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella giving an account of the voyage and claiming the honors for himself. He would fain have the privilege of going to court and explaining all to their Majesties.

Pinzon returns too late

Pinzon was confident that Columbus, with the *Niña* and all on board, had perished in the storm.

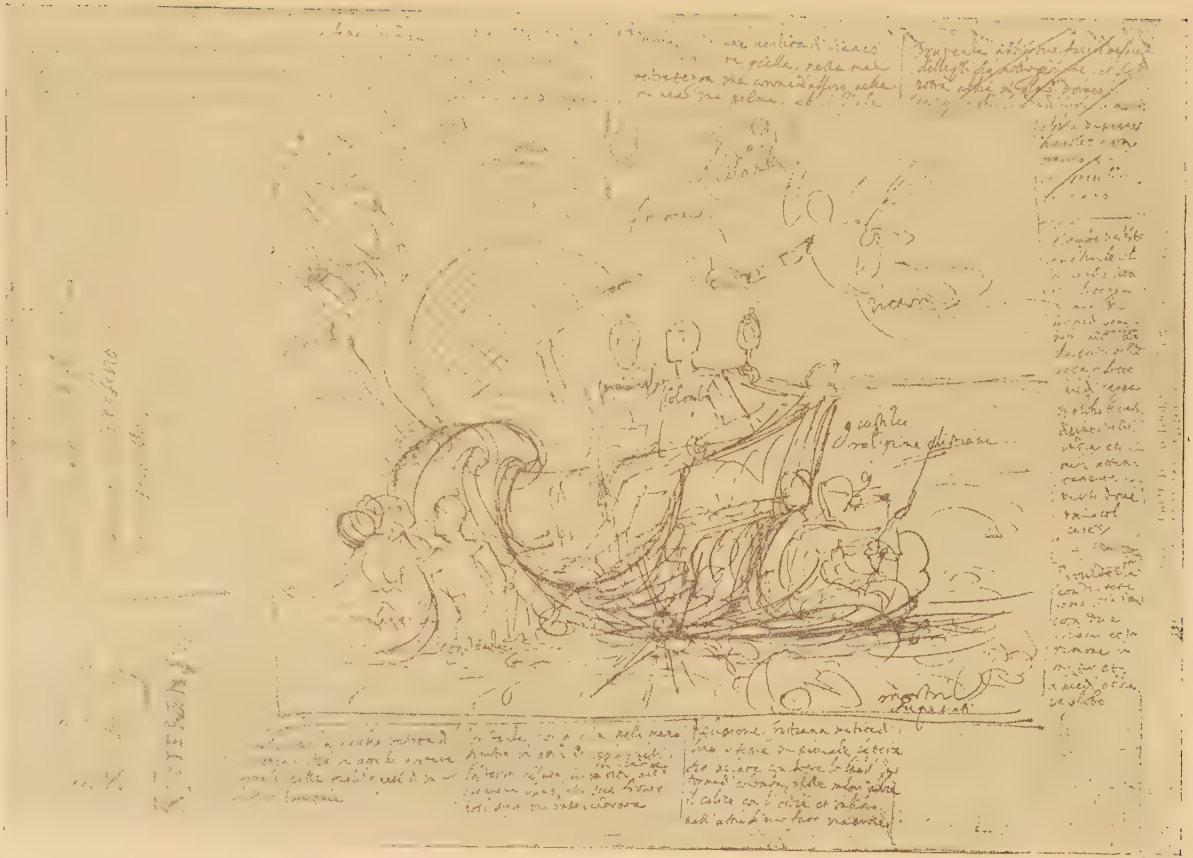
His message to the sovereigns was forwarded to them, and then Pinzon made his way to Palos. Entering the harbor, he saw the vessel of the Admiral at safe anchor! Soon afterwards he received a dispatch from their Majesties, saying that he should not come near them with his falsehoods. Pinzon, already broken with hardships, sank under this stroke of shame, and died in a few days—of a broken heart, so runs the tradition.

Pinzon dies in disgrace

When Columbus started to Barcelona, the whole population along the way arose to greet him. His progress became a triumphal pageant. Curiosity to see and hear overmastered the multitudes. Their Majesties knew not whether to receive the Admiral as subject or as prince. A royal canopy was prepared in the open air, and there thrones were placed for the sovereigns. Ferdinand and Isabella sat side by side. There Columbus with his train was received and welcomed. He knelt and kissed the queen's hand. It was believed that the discoverer had found the Indies. The national imagination was inflamed to a fever of extravagant dreams. Columbus' story was heard by the sovereigns with the greatest interest. He was confirmed in all his honors and emoluments. The court and the hidalgos who surrounded it vied with one another in doing obeisance to the great Admiral.

Columbus' ovation at Barcelona

Several of the natives of the West Indies had been brought home in the train. They did not particularly resemble the men of the far East, but they were accepted as living marvels and as



ROUGH-DRAFT OF AN ALLEGORICAL SKETCH OF COLUMBUS' TRIUMPH (BY HIMSELF?)

exemplars of the great races inhabiting the west. All of the specimens of the productions of the Bahamas, Cuba, and Hispaniola were examined with the profoundest interest by the king and queen.

Their Majesties of Spain were now on the keen edge of adventure and enterprise. A new expedition was planned and pressed with the utmost vigor. A bureau for the government of the Spanish Indies was quickly organized. This was placed under the management of Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca of Toro, archdeacon of Seville, afterwards a bishop and archbishop, and greatly influential in the epoch of discovery. To him and to Columbus was assigned the preparation of a new squadron. Very liberal were their Majesties at this juncture. "Now," said they in his second patent, "since it has pleased our Lord that many of the above said islands should be discovered by you, and we trust that with His assistance you will find and discover other islands and the mainlands in the said ocean in the aforesaid parts of the Indies. . . . We, reflecting upon the risk and danger to which, on account of our service, you have exposed yourself in seeking for and discovering the aforesaid islands, and upon that to which you will now expose yourself in going to seek out and discover other islands and the mainland of which we have had and hope to have signal service from you; and to confer a benefit and favor upon you, we confirm by these presents to you and to your aforesaid children,

Second voyage planned

The second patent

descendants and successors, one after the other, now and forever, the said offices of Admiral of the abovesaid Ocean and of Viceroy and Governor of the said islands and mainland, which by your labor and industry shall be found and discovered henceforward in the said parts of the Indies. And it is our will and pleasure that you should have and hold, and, your days being terminated, your children, descendants, and successors, the one after the other, the aforesaid office of our Admiral of the said ocean which is ours; which commences by a limit or line which we have ordered to be marked, which passes from the Azores to the Cape Verde Islands from the north to the south, from pole to pole; so that all that which is beyond the aforesaid line to the west is ours, and belongs to us; and of all this we make and create you our Admiral and your children and successors one after the other. . . ."

Columbus' honors confirmed

It was one of the marvels of the first Columbian expedition that notwithstanding its vicissitudes, no one of the officers or crew, so far as was then known, had been lost. There was now no lack of ships or of volunteers for the new expedition. This had for one of its objects the colonization of the new-found lands in the West. The new fleet consisted of seventeen vessels. Many persons of distinction, and others ambitious of distinction, rushed forward to participate in the enterprise. Thus did Giacomo (James, now translated into Spanish as Diego) Colombo (now Colon), the Admiral's brother. Thus also

New fleet and its volunteers

did Bartholomew Diaz, himself destined to a magnificent place in the annals of discovery. Thus did Alonso de Ojeda, a cavalier of Cuenca; thus did Juan de La Cosa, before mentioned, owner of the lost *Santa Maria;* and thus did the Benedictine monk, Bernardo Buil (obviously an Irishman, Bernard Boyle), the vicar of the Pope.

Fresh adventurers

At this time the pontiff of Rome was Rodrigo Borgia, whose title was Alexander VI. He was deeply concerned in the progress of discovery, and was eager to extend the sway of the church into all the new regions of the world. The time had now arrived for him to play an important part in the drama of the age. No sooner was it known that Columbus had found new lands in the west, than the long-standing rivalry between Spain and Portugal became acute. A warlike dispute arose as to the rightful possession of the new countries which were in process of discovery. The Spanish sovereigns asked Alexander for a grant of their new-found Indies. That dignitary was an Aragonese by birth, and issued a bull awarding them all lands that they had discovered or might discover in the *western* ocean. This was supposed to be quite distinct from the eastern. The next day he issued another, his famous one, dividing the "firm lands and islands found or to be found toward the west and south" between Spain and Portugal.[1] A line was drawn by his

Bull of Alexander VI.

[1] The French king commented on this, that he should like to see the clause in Adam's will that divides up the continents between those two powers.

Holiness at a meridian one hundred leagues west of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, which groups the Pope assumed to be on the same meridional line; he being a better Pope than geographer, if the latest judgment on his papacy is correct. In fact, these islands were ten degrees apart; a fertile source of dispute.

New boundary line

By this demarcation all the world was divided. On the hither or eastern side of the line, all the unknown lands were assigned to Portugal. On the thither or western side of the line, all the countries not yet discovered were given to Spain. His Holiness, as above intimated, had not apprehended that Portugal by discovering eastward, and Spain by discovering westward, would each come around and overlap all the possessions of the other! In the absence of better geographical knowledge in others, however, Pope Alexander's line roused no question. But Portugal was determined to have it much farther west; and the next year Castile receded, and agreed to place the line three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verdes. This line gave Brazil to Portugal, and survived till it was laughed away by the boisterous mariners of England.

New expedition overcrowded

Some time was consumed in the preparation of the new fleet. It consisted of three large "carracks" for store ships, and fourteen caravels. The crews, with their officers and colonists, made up an aggregate of about fifteen hundred men, though the Crown had intended only twelve hundred to go; and the caravels were crowded to the

utmost. This time most of the money needed was obtained from the confiscated property of the 200,000 Jews expelled from Spain the previous year. Abundant materials were provided, and a cargo of live animals, with vines, sugar-cane, and cereals, to make the Hispaniola colony permanent. Very imposing was the departure of the expedition, on the 25th of September, 1493. Stopping awhile at the Canary Islands, Columbus took aboard sheep and goats, pigs and fowls, with melon, orange, and lemon seeds. On the 7th of October they again started. The voyage was prosperous; only a single storm was encountered, and on the 3d of November they sighted a little island which they named Dominica. Then the isles of Maria Galante and Guadalupe were discovered and named. Several other islands—Montserrat, Antigua, San Martin, Santa Cruz, and Porto Rico—were seen, and some were touched and partly explored.

Departure on the second voyage

The inhabitants of these islands were not the gentle Arawaks whom Columbus had first met on Guanahani, and even on Cuba. They were ferocious cannibals—a word which is itself a mere corruption of their native name Caribs or Caribbees, and is further immortalized in Shakespeare's Caliban, in "The Tempest." They had come from the continent of South America, not yet known to white men; and were rapidly butchering the Arawak men and marrying their women, and occupying the West Indies, where but for the Spaniards they would in a few years have been the

The cannibal Caribs

only inhabitants. The Spaniards, to their horror, found human hind-quarters smoked and hanging from the roof-poles of the wattled huts, and human flesh stewing in the kettles along with that of animals and birds. Those of the expedition who knew the classics thought at once of the Cyclops and the Læstrygonians whom Ulysses met on his voyage.

Cannibal feasts in evidence

The southern coast of Cuba, also, was traced for a great distance. La Navidad was reached on the 22d of November. The fort, alas! had been burned, and the forty colonists whom the Admiral had left behind were slain or dispersed. Plunder of the natives and unceremonious appropriation of the native women were the chief cause; the leader a chief named Caonabo. This was the first serious stroke of evil fortune which befell Columbus after the discovery of Guanahani. About forty miles east of Cape Haytien, the Admiral selected a spot for a new fortification, and for a settlement which he named Isabella; within easy reach of the gold regions of Cibao, a name which confirmed him in his belief that he was upon Cipango. On this coast began the long series of sorrows and disappointments with which Columbus was afflicted in the New World.

City of Isabella founded

Leaving the soldier Margarite, a favorite of King Ferdinand, to command the troops and explore the interior, and his brother Diego Colon to govern the colony, Columbus set forth on April 24 to make what he hoped was a final discovery of the Asiatic coast and the cities of the

New search for Cathay

FIRST SKETCH OF AMERICAN ABORIGINES.

Great Khan. He saw that his maps were wrong, but he could not tell why. Voyaging along the southern coast, the natives still answered every question by pointing south. He therefore sailed south and came to Jamaica. Seeing that this too was a savage island, he went north till he came to Cape Cruz, the great prong which runs southwest from southeastern Cuba. This was very like a projection on Toscanelli's Cathay; and when he came to the archipelago of little islands called on our maps the Cayos de las Doce Leguas,[1] he was confirmed in this belief, as they must be the seven thousand spice islands of which Marco Polo had told.

The natives here called the region next west of them Mangon, which he took for Mangi, next south of Cathay; they said the inhabitants had tails and hid them by loose long gowns, and "Mandeville," who was counted a truthful historian in those days, says some of the naked Eastern Asiatics explain the civilized people's wearing clothes by the fact that they have some physical deformity they wish to conceal. Besides all this, the natives thought Cuba had no end, and of course this proved it a continent. Still more, a voyager out hunting mistook a flock of cranes for men with long white robes. Going onward, the coast kept trending southwest, as the Asiatic continent ought; and within a hundred miles of the extremity of Cuba, which would have undeceived him, Columbus yielded to the

[1] Dozen-League Keys.

importunity of the crew and his unfitness of equipment for a great continental expedition, and returned to Hispaniola. First, however, to secure himself against the sneerers who were denying the reality of his discovery of Asia and Cipango, every person on the expedition swore under oath, and had it taken down by a notary, that all believed this to be the coast of Asia. Any one who denied this later should have his tongue slit as a liar, and pay a fine of 10,000 maravedis (about $600) if an officer, or receive a hundred lashes if a soldier.

Oath that Cuba was Asia

Returning, they struck the southern coast of Hispaniola and followed it around, greatly disappointed to find their Cipango but a tiny island compared to what it should be from the maps and Marco Polo. Columbus, worn out and overstrained, fell into a stupor from which he did not awake to consciousness for weeks. When he did so, he was delighted to find his brother Bartholomew, who had been sent with three vessels full of supplies for the colony. Christopher at once appointed his brother *Adelantado* or chief governor under himself. There was more than work for both. The colonists, largely young adventurers who had come for gold and lust and not work, simply laughed at Diego's authority. They explored the island, picking up gold dust and nuggets, taking what they liked from the Indians, and stabbing each other in fights over things wanted by more than one. Margarite and the friar Buil or Boyle were the ringleaders; and at

Mutiny in Hayti

last, with a party of abettors, seized Bartholomew's three ships and sailed off to Spain, full of the most rancorous abuse of the Colon brothers as rapacious tyrants. The only tyranny we can find evidence of is the hanging of the worst of the ruffianly mutineers on the island, and probably the real fault was in not hanging more. The sovereigns, who knew what governing a turbulent mass of adventurers meant, paid no attention at first; but Columbus' evil genius, Fonseca, who seems to have hated Columbus because he had been made subordinate to the discoverer in the Indian administration, urged them to send a commission of inquiry to Hispaniola.

The Columbuses libelled by mutineers

Meantime the natives were desperate under the Spanish outrages. Caonabo, who had massacred the first settlement, attempted to form a native confederacy to massacre the second. Another chief, taking the Spanish side, betrayed the plot; Ojeda captured Caonabo by an audacious stratagem,[1] and Columbus kept him prisoner, but treated him well. Caonabo's principal wife, however, carried out her husband's plan, and there was a general Indian war, in which the natives were defeated, but many Spaniards lost their lives. In October (1495) arrived Juan Aguado from Spain, the commissioner of inquiry, with four ships of supplies. Aguado had been friendly to Columbus, who had advanced his interests; but the insubordinate colonists loaded all the evils of the colony on Columbus, and

Commission of Aguado

[1] See next chapter.

Aguado was forced to believe such a mass of testimony. Columbus determined to go back to Spain with him and make his own report. Just before starting, he discovered some abandoned gold mines, which he took to be the Ophir of the Scriptures; and the capital of the colony was ordered transferred from Isabella to the mouth of the Ozema River. There during the summer the present city of San Domingo was founded.

San Domingo founded

On the 10th of March, 1496, Columbus left Hispaniola with two caravels, over two hundred Spaniards wild to be at home once more, and about thirty Indians, who narrowly escaped furnishing part of the provisions for the half-starved crew, delayed by baffling winds. On the 11th of June they reached Cadiz, and a month later Columbus was admitted to audience. He put on the garb of a monk and went into the royal presence, where he was reassured by the queen. A new arrangement was made, by which he was to receive a great estate of a thousand square leagues (some 16,000 square miles, about twice the size of Massachusetts) in Hispaniola. A new fleet was ordered; the Admiral's two sons were taken into the royal service. It was not, however, until May of 1498 that the third squadron of six ships was ready to depart, Fonseca harrying him to the last. Meantime, to save further financing of such enterprises, for which money was always scarce on account of the incessant Spanish wars, Ferdinand and Isabella in the previous year had granted full permission to all native Spaniards to make trading or

A third expedition ordered

COLUMBUS | MADRID .

exploring voyages to the new lands, provided they would pay all the expenses and turn over most of the profits to the Crown. Columbus protested against this as in violation of the agreement with him; and in 1497 a new edict was issued proclaiming that the former did not affect Columbus' rights.

Free-trade edict rescinded

On the 30th day of May, 1498, the Admiral sailed from San Lucar. At Ferro he sent part of his fleet straight across, himself keeping a south and southwest course by the way of the Cape Verdes, till near the equator. There were two reasons for this. First, he wished to reach the lands of gold and precious stones, spices and perfumes and medicinal plants, which he had been assured were near the equator among a race of negroes. Second, he wished to reach by a shorter route, if possible, the coast of Cochin China, and sail around Malacca and into the Indian Ocean, thereby crowning his discovery by circumnavigating the globe. This course unluckily brought him directly in the line of the Zone of Calms, where for many days his crews struggled with the dreadful heats and sank in despair from the absence of all winds. Finally the equatorial current bore him on and out, with the ships' seams gaping wide and the water almost gone.

Zone of calms

On the 31st of July he discovered a large island which he named Trinidad, from its trinity of three mountain peaks on one base. In the first days of August he reached the mainland of South America. Through the gulf (of Paria) between it and the

mainland he passed, in imminent danger of being engulfed by a mighty flood of raging billows, rolling seaward with stupendous power and sublime vastness. The water was fresh: the old mariner knew at once that it must proceed from a river of enormous size (the Orinoco), and that the land which furnished drainage for such a stream must be a continent. But his fancy was full of the theological speculations to which Dante has given immortality of poetic form. Paradise was thought to be at the summit of the world. Surely, then, this must be the river flowing from that peak of Eden, up the basal slopes of which he had been sailing from the blazing zone; that is why it poured down with such resistless fury. The continent was new, not on any map or suspected by anybody; but it was evidently south of Asia, and between them must be a passage which would lead into the Indian Ocean, since Polo and others had sailed through it.

The Orinoco discovered

It was there, and not to Paradise, that he wished just then to go. He therefore retired from this strait, the southern of the two by which Trinidad bars the Orinoco from the Ocean, and which he called the Dragon's Mouth. He sailed north and then west along the northern coast of South America, what we now call the Pearl Coast, and where he also found pearls. He traced it to the islands of Margarita and Cubagua; but he was now suffering from gout and ophthalmia, and apprehensive of the seaworthiness of his vessel. He would go to Hispaniola, and send his brother

Pearl coast explored

Bartholomew to finish the exploration of the new coast.

Reaching Hispaniola on the 30th of August, he found all on fire again. There was first another Indian war, from the same causes. Then still worse had occurred. One Francisco Roldan had formed and spread the idea that Aguado's commission proved Columbus to be superseded and withdrawn; and with a body of adherents he threw off allegiance to Bartholomew, allied himself with the Indians under Caonabo's brother, and set up an independent government. Bartholomew sent a body of troops to put down Roldan; instead they deserted to him, for his scheme promised liberty to do whatever they liked. Columbus on his return had to compromise with the rebel. For two years this shameful state of things coninued. Columbus has been blamed as a weakling for not putting it down sooner. It is doubtful if Cæsar himself could have done better, with the very basis of all power cut from under his feet: a commander is but one man if no one else will obey him. Within a couple of years, however, he actually did with his brothers succeed in largely restoring order, and would probably have done so altogether had the government not interfered at exactly the wrong time.

Disorder in Santo Domingo

The brothers Columbus quell the revolt

Meanwhile, disappointment with the results of the new discoveries had turned to distrust of Columbus, and then to enmity, contempt, and hatred. On the 18th of October, 1498, he had sent to Spain five ships, with cargoes chiefly of

dye-woods, and six hundred Carib Indians as slaves. But the Spanish court began to be thronged with his enemies. The hidalgos who had fawned at the Admiral's feet now filled all ears with lies and slanders. They attacked not only him, but also his friends. Conscienceless sarcasm was their method. Speaking of his boys, they cried out after them, "There go the sons of the Admiral of Mosquitoland—of that man who has discovered the country of deceit and disappointment, a place of graves and wretchedness for Spanish noblemen!"

Disappointment and calumny in Spain

In all this rancor, the envious Fonseca was the ringleader. He gave ear to every slander, saw that it did not lose its entrance to the royal ear, and set on worthless fellows to make claims for pay which they alleged that Columbus had unjustly refused them. The court was tired of the whole colony. New lands, to be sure; but nothing to speak of came back, and much money had to be continually spent. There was a difference of opinion, too, on the slave question, though the results show that it was not very great. The Arawak natives were constantly raided by the Caribs, who carried off many to eat boiled or smoked. Columbus retorted by enslaving the cannibals themselves and sending them to Spain as slaves; partly for their own good, to educate them in Christianity, partly to stop their forays on the peaceable Arawaks, partly to make good the government outlays. But others did not discriminate, and enslaved any natives they found, Arawak or

Columbus' slave-making

Carib. Alonso Torres sent over to Spain five hundred Indians in 1495. Pero Alonso Niño filled his two caravels and one ship with them in 1496. It was altogether evil: Isabella would not have it, and in 1499 emancipated all and provided for sending them back to the West Indies.

Da Gama's voyage

Still worse for the immediate interests and fame of Columbus, just at this time Vasco da Gama did for Portugal what Columbus had expected to do for Spain and failed—found a sea route to the Indies. Following Bartholomew Dias's route around the Cape, he reached Calicut on the western coast of Hindostan. There he found the rich cities, the powerful monarchs, the gems and spices, of which travelers had told, and which no European before had seen. To prove his tale, he brought back specimens in quantities of all those Eastern luxuries for which Europe was so wild: cinnamon and cloves and nutmegs and pepper and ginger, precious stones of the rarest colors and fineness, beautiful stuffs, ivories, and bronzes, and many other splendid things. Portugal had outmatched Spain after all: a trading-house was to be established in Malabar, while Columbus had only found lands of naked savages, with nothing that Europe wanted or could use.

Bobadilla sent to supersede Columbus

The Spanish discontent with Columbus, fomented constantly and with nothing to counteract it, came to a head in 1499. Probably at Fonseca's instigation, a certain Francisco de Bobadilla was sent out to supersede Columbus as governor if he thought the latter's misconduct had forfeited all

claim to leniency, and with official documents to use in such case; and in general to investigate and inflict proper punishment on offenders. He was commissioned in 1499, but not sent on until July, 1500. Arriving in August, he found things in much better shape. The governors had hanged several of the chiefs of the mutiny, and condemned several more. The two elder brothers were putting down Roldan, Diego was securing order at Santo Domingo. Bobadilla, doubtless with private orders and assurances of backing from Fonseca, set to work to undo everything. He first ordered Diego to surrender the condemned mutineers to him: Diego refused till he heard from the Admiral. Bobadilla then read his ultimate commissions, and ordered all public property and the governorship surrendered to him, and the prisoners also. Diego still declined in the absence of the supreme commander: Bobadilla had the fortress broken into and the prisoners released. He flung Diego himself into prison in irons; took possession of Christopher's house, and seized every particle of his property even to his private letters and papers.

The Columbuses master the mutiny

Bobadilla's violence and outrage

Upon Christopher Columbus' return to Santo Domingo, Bobadilla without even seeing him ordered him to be put in irons and consigned to a dungeon. On Bartholomew's arrival the same thing was done to him. They were put in separate prisons, and no one was allowed access to them; nor were they even informed of the charges against them. To justify himself to the public, Bobadilla

asserted that there was evidence of their inciting the Indians to aid them in rebelling against their sovereigns! His conduct is so incredibly and insanely indecent, that it is probable he was secretly ordered by Fonseca to secure the Columbus party at all hazards and send them to Spain, where he would see that they got their deserts. At any rate, this was what Bobadilla did.

Columbus goes home in irons

The captain of the ship, De Villejo, was a humane man, with a fitting sense of what was due to greatness. He could not bear such degradation to the noble Admiral, and wished to take off the irons. Columbus firmly refused: he would not permit his chains to be removed until they should be ordered broken off by their Majesties, the king and queen, and even then he would keep them all his life as souvenirs of his reward for his hardships and achievements—as he did. Columbus had not miscalculated. The people had given too easy credence to calumniators in his absence; but their feelings were as easily excited to compassion, and the white-haired Discoverer in chains marching through the streets raised a storm of public sympathy. A letter which he had written on shipboard, to a feminine friend of the queen, was the first intimation the latter had had of Bobadilla's conduct and the outrage on the brothers. She instantly sent a courier to Cadiz ordering the brothers released, and Columbus invited to court, with money for the journey. He came to the Alhambra, and they met; the tears stood in the queen's eyes, and Columbus, who had endured

every hardship and insult with unshaken stanchness, broke down sobbing as he knelt at the queen's feet.

Ovando replaces Columbus

Bobadilla's conduct was promptly repudiated; indeed, it is not likely that the sovereigns, when they consented to appoint the man whom Fonseca recommended, had any idea that he would act with such ruffianly folly. His charges were left unnoticed, and Columbus was promised full recompense and restoration. But it had become evident that the piratical gang upon Hayti must have a Spanish governor with recognized state and church backing. Fonseca this time took care to recommend a man with the sense to keep a fair outside. This was Nicolas de Ovando, a knight of a military religious order, who left San Lucar in February, 1502, with a fleet of thirty ships, carrying some 2,500 men. The last three or four years had revealed unsuspected possibilities in the new land, and gold was beginning to pour in freely from Hispaniola. Ovando was one of that fortunate class of officials who reap the first fruits of their superiors' awakened common-sense, just as Columbus was of the luckless ones who come just before it. Such was the end of Columbus' career as Viceroy of the Indies.

Columbus' fourth expedition

The fourth and final voyage of Columbus was intended to eclipse Da Gama's work along his own lines. We have already spoken of the passage which obviously (on his theories) existed between the new continent and Asia. He now proposed to find this by sailing along the Cuban (or as he

believed, Asiatic continental) coast till he found it, pass through into the Indian Ocean, and so reach the same spot as Da Gama, by a much shorter westward sail than Da Gama's eastward. A fleet of four vessels was accordingly prepared, and the Admiral was again in command. Accompanied by his brother Bartholomew and his son Ferdinand, then fourteen, he sailed forth from Cadiz on the 11th of May, 1502.

Columbus had been ordered by the government not to call at Hispaniola till his return, in order to give Ovando time to restore order with no disturbing influences; but one of his vessels was leaking, and he took the liberty of touching there to replace it with a better, arriving on the 29th of June. Ovando, a man of great firmness hidden under an assumed softness of manner, had put Bobadilla and Roldan both on board a ship for Spain; one of a fleet of over two dozen, laden with gold, including 4,000 pieces toward the reimbursement of Columbus. The expert old seaman saw signs of a hurricane, and asked to remain till it was over, at the same time warning the commander of the fleet against it. The reply was an insulting order to leave the harbor. He went but a short distance, until he found a little cove where his fleet managed to weather the hurricane, which soon broke in awful violence. The other fleet, with a commander who thought himself to know more about seamanship than Columbus, was almost wholly destroyed; nearly all the vast treasure dug by the labor of Indian slaves was sunk in the

Columbus again at Hispaniola

Poetic justice

sea, Bobadilla and Roldan and the other chief foes of Columbus went with it, a few shattered wrecks crawled back to the harbor, and just one was able to go to Spain, that being the one with Columbus' gold pieces on it.[1]

The Central American coast

Sailing southwest in order to reach the Cochin China coast as far south toward Malacca as possible, he struck Cape Honduras. Here he was pleased to find an apparent civilization far above that of Cuba. The natives of that stock whose best known member we call Aztec were not the naked savages of the West Indies, Arawak or Carib. They wore handsomely dyed cotton garments, and the women were modestly clothed to the neck; they made copper tools, beautiful pottery, and corn spirits.

Now sailing eastward along the coast for his strait leading into the Indian Ocean, since he thought the other course would bring him around to the Cuban "continent" again, after forty days he doubled the cape which he named Gracias à Dias ("Thanks to God"), because the coast turned sharply southward and he thought he saw the goal in sight at last. His course confirmed him in the idea, for the condition of the people seemed to grow higher and higher. The Admiral found himself in contact with the fringes of the old civilization of Central America, with large stone

[1] This piece of poetical justice seems too exactly fitting to be credible, Providence rarely working by such direct means; but it rests on the double testimony of Las Casas who was in San Domingo, and Ferdinand Columbus who was with his father. After all, conceit and inhumanity do sometimes work their own punishment.

buildings covered with carved decorations and picture writing, mummies, heavy gold plates hung around the necks of the people, and other signs of wealth and developed social condition. They told him of a narrow place with a sea on the other side: they meant the Isthmus of Darien, he thought they meant the Strait of Malacca. At last he had found the goal!

Eagerly pressing forward, Columbus sailed along the isthmus beyond Veragua, until he had passed some distance beyond the present site of the Panama canal. Still no strait; the crews were clamoring to return and see where the gold mines near Veragua were, of which the natives told; and Columbus reluctantly returned to that district, from which his descendants take their title, hoping to fix headquarters there from which later he could finish his voyage. After three terrible months, with stragglers murdered by Indians, food giving out, and ships becoming unseaworthy, they decided to return to Santo Domingo. Leaking, heavy, and slow, the vessels were drifted along by currents and beaten by storms, till on the 23d of June they were run up on the Jamaica shore and used as the basis for a blockhouse, while Columbus sent over to Ovando in Hayti for help. That mean and envious wretch, as bad at heart as Bobadilla, but with more craft, professed himself ready to send it; but for a year he lifted not a finger, while Columbus and his party were stranded in Jamaica, in miserable want. There was an open mutiny before it ended,

Columbus passes the isthmus

Stranded on Jamaica

and Bartholomew put it down, killing several and forcing the rest to submit.

Columbus' last return to Spain

Finally Ovando's dishonorable and inhuman conduct toward his countrymen roused such wrath in his own province that toward the end of June, 1504, he sent over two ships and brought the party to Santo Domingo. There they were treated decently enough; but the condition of things sickened Columbus to the heart. In September, as soon as preparations could be finished, he made his last departure for Spain. There he arrived in the harbor of San Lucar, on the 7th of November.

Queen Isabella was already on her deathbed. She survived only nineteen days after the arrival of her favorite captain on the coast. The latter was sick, and when he came to Seville, he was confined to bed until after the death of her Majesty.

Last days of Columbus

The letters of appeal which the Admiral now prepared for the king were put aside as of no importance. In May he was able to journey as far as Segovia, where the court was then held. Ferdinand received him coldly, and put him off in a manner to indicate the vanity of any further petition to the crown. Fonseca was now triumphant.

This stroke of the royal disrespect was fatal to the Man of Genoa. The infirmity of old age had now fallen upon him. His constitution was broken by the hardships to which he had been subjected. He retired to Valladolid, where, on

the 19th of May, 1506, he affixed a last codicil to his will. He directed his son and all the future successors to his dignities, each to sign himself, THE ADMIRAL. On the following day, May 20, he died, probably in about the seventieth year of his age. If he was only fifty-nine or sixty, as the dubiousness of his birth-date makes possible, it would be no matter for surprise. He had known hardship, anxiety, grief, bereavement, hope deferred for years, all the strains on mind and body which can early age the strongest constitution. The wonder is that even his iron frame and equable soul endured them so long.

Columbus' death

We have here dwelt on the life and work of Christopher Columbus more fully than may be done in the case of the other successive explorers of the Western Hemisphere. This is applied in particular to the first voyage of the great Admiral, the extraordinary character of which seemed to demand a large amount of space. The novelty and romance of the first great adventure give to it a dramatic and sentimental interest for all time, such as is not often found in the personal deeds of men.

Estimate of his work

The first discovery of America was, moreover, in both its methods and results, typical of all the like discoveries that should follow. The geography, the products, the inhabitants, of the West Indies and of the continental shores just beyond, were revealed once for all. They could not be revealed again. The romance of the first adventure could not be renewed. Columbus and John

Uniqueness of his work

Cabot virtually discovered all. Nor can the reader, after four full centuries of time, find in the annals of subsequent voyages the abiding interest and enthusiasm of the first. For this reason, the narratives of the expeditions and discoveries of the successors of Columbus will be briefer and more matter-of-fact than is the first.

CHAPTER X.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSORS OF COLUMBUS

As soon as the West Indies were made known to Europe, a considerable volume of enterprise rolled in the direction of the new-found countries. Much of the enterprise was personal; some was social; other was political. One adventurer after another went forth from Europe to try his fortune in the West, one government after another sought to annex the new lands to its present possessions.

Question of Vespucci

One such alleged enterprise imperatively demands discussion, for its bearing on the priority of Columbus in discovering the American mainland, on the naming of the New World, and on the credibility of sources still having weighty upholders. We mean the ostensible first voyage, in 1497, of that Amerigo Vespucci to whom history, by a mixture of chance and natural evolution, has assigned the name of the Western Hemisphere. The world's sense of justice, indignant at the usurpation of honor due to Columbus alone, for a long time heaped obloquy on Vespucci as having deliberately schemed to that end. This can be disproved; and the natural reaction has given him, in some quarters, undeserved credit as a truthful man and great discoverer. He was neither; but he probably had no intention of claiming any

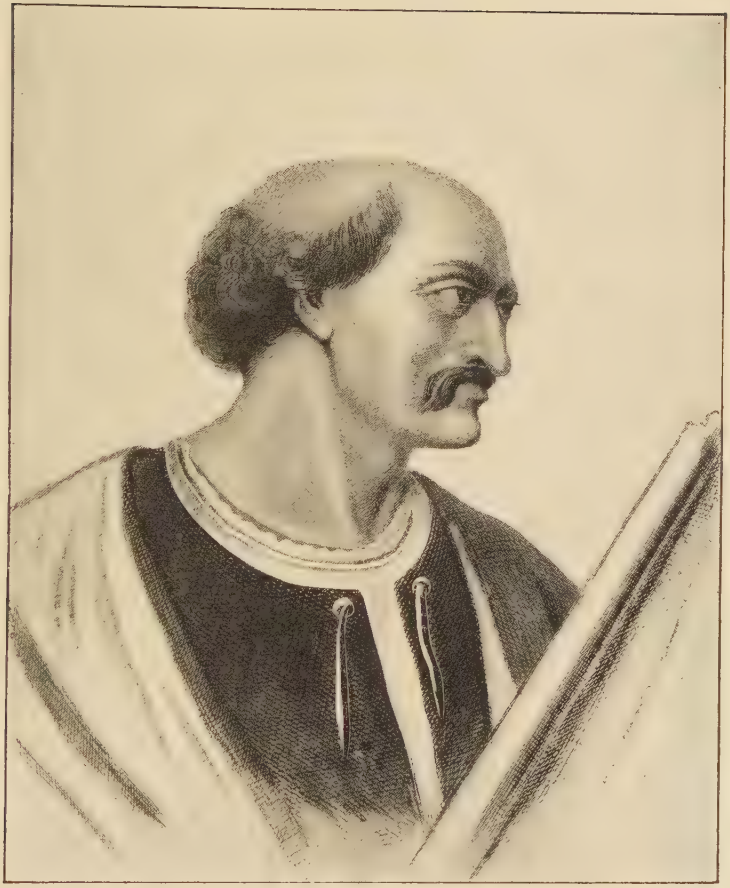
specific discovery of Columbus, as he fixed his imaginary landfall to avoid conflict with Columbus' reports. The Admiral's honor as first discoverer of the western islands was undisputed: Vespucci thought Columbus could well spare the first mainland to a fellow-man who needed it, and enable him to glorify himself in his old home. A freak of fate crowned Vespucci with immortality in consequence; and he in turn must pay the price of having his mendacity and shallowness exposed.

Vespucci's motive

This amateur navigator was born in Florence, Italy, on the 9th of March, 1451 (Old Style: our 1452). He was thus from six to sixteen years the junior of Columbus, and his death was later by the former interval. Florence is connected with the beginnings of America by the names of Toscanelli, Vespucci, and Verrazzano. At that age it was the intellectual centre of Italy and of the world. A city that within fourteen years (1469-83) produced Machiavelli, Michelangelo, Raphael, and Guicciardini, needs no further characterization. It had formerly given birth to Dante and Boccaccio; more recently to Toscanelli, still living, besides the large-minded Medicis. Vespucci was born to a great atmosphere and stimulus, which excited ambition without conferring the faculties to satisfy it; hence perhaps a part of his uneasy vanity.

Vespucci and Florence

Amerigo Vespucci was the third son of Anastasio (familiarly pronounced Nastagio) Vespucci, a notary of Florence. The family were merchants



AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

and mariners, of rank and riches. The boy was educated chiefly by his uncle Antonio, a Dominican friar. Amerigo learned a little Latin, the universal speech of the time among the educated class. Then or later he dabbled slightly in astronomy and the art of making calculations for navigation, as the family business made natural. He engaged in trade, and was finally taken into the commercial establishment of the Medicis, in Florence, where he remained until past forty. His hobby is said to have been geography, and he collected maps, globes, etc., as well as made maps himself. In 1492 he was appointed one of two agents of the Medicis in Cadiz and Seville, contracting for provisions to supply vessels. His nephew Giovanni was among their assistants, and afterwards became a pilot of note.

Early life of Vespucci

Here his track is intersected by that of Columbus. The Florentine house of Berardi, established in Spain about 1483, fitted out the great fleet of 1493 for Columbus' second voyage. On April 9, 1495, it contracted to supply the government with twelve vessels of nine hundred tons each. This was only the day before the royal edict throwing open the West India trade, in breach of the concession to Columbus; and the vessels were doubtless for service in such independent expeditions. Four were delivered the same month, and used for Aguado's voyage of August 5 (see previous chapter); the remainder were completed in September, but four were wrecked; one was probably used for Pero Alonso Niño's expedition of June

The Berardis

15, 1496; the rest are uncertain. In December, the head of the firm, Juanoto Berardi, died; and Vespucci, as friend and business associate, was deputed to settle its affairs. We find him so acting on June 12, 1496; then we lose *certain* view of him till 1499.[1]

We now enter upon ground every inch of which is disputed. We shall give our conclusions, and the full grounds on which they are based. Two preliminary observations are necessary.[2]

Vespucci his own sole herald

First, not only the sole authority for the discovery of the American mainland in 1497 by an expedition including Vespucci, but with one exception the sole evidence for his ever having sailed on a voyage in any capacity, up to 1508, is Vespucci himself. His fame was chiefly made by a letter

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[1] J. B. Muñoz, chief cosmographer of the Indies and official of the Spanish "India Office," published in 1793 the first part of a *History of the New World*. In this he says that entries on the records of expeditions to the Indies establish Vespucci's presence in Spain till the summer of 1498. This of course would disprove the 1497 voyage without further argument; unfortunately those entries cannot now be found, and Vespucci's champions rest on this absence of an *alibi*. But when other strongly convincing evidence makes the voyage improbable, we are justified in feeling strengthened by Muñoz's great authority.

[2] The great names of Henry Harrisse in original investigation and John Fiske in letters are against us. But Harrisse is offset by the still weightier name of Clements R. Markham (see his *Vespucci* in Hakluyt Society Publications, No. 90, 1894); and Fiske avowedly adopts the thesis of Baron F. de Varnhagen of Brazil, who, when a minister to Peru in 1865, published the last of a series of works to rehabilitate Vespucci. Varnhagen's positions seem to us, as we have shown in the text, hopelessly irreconcilable with facts and the law of probabilities in human reasoning. The author has examined all the authorities independently, including Vespucci himself; has presented several arguments here which have escaped the notice of other critics; and is unhesitating in his convictions.

written by him in 1504 to a nameless Florentine lord, formerly a schoolfellow of his; supposed to be Piero Soderini, then gonfalonier of Florence. It described four alleged voyages, 1497-1503. The year before, he had written a letter to Piero de' Medici covering the third of these. Both went all over Europe in translations. Of other mention or official record of these voyages, however, there is absolutely not one word except the casual mention in a lawsuit, many years later, that he was on that of 1499. But for this allusion, we should have no proof that he ever was aboard a vessel even as a passenger—something wholly unique in the history of great navigators.

Vespucci's letter to Soderini

Secondly, friends and foes alike have beclouded the question by confounding four wholly unrelated issues: whether any expedition of 1497 sailed, or at least made discoveries of note; whether, if so, Vespucci was aboard; whether, if so, he had any position warranting the discoveries to be called his; and whether, if so, his account presumably enables us to know what the discoveries were. We shall show that no one of these is probable, and that the last three would be equally improbable even if the first were true.

According to Vespucci, his first voyage began May 10, 1497; another version has it May 20. Either date is just before June 2 in that year, when Ferdinand canceled the edict of 1495 and restored Columbus' monopoly. Vespucci probably fixed this time to avoid detection of the falsehood in Florence, where his personal movements were

Date of his first voyage

unknown but the king's edict was not, and any date conflicting with the latter would arouse instant suspicion. He was forty-five, and says that he took to the sea because mercantile business was onerous and precarious. This singular estimate of ease and stability in a profession, by the middle-aged factor of a rich solid house like the Medici, is not plausible; and it is not to Piero de' Medici that he tells it. Probably that firm dropped him about this time, and he made a failure of independent business. This is the more probable, since he would hardly have dared to tell in Florence that he was on a voyage in 1497-8, had he been in the employ of the Medici in that year. It would have been more judicious to say that he was tired of humdrum business, and longed for travel and adventure; in fact, he does set that down as a secondary motive.

Why Vespucci took to seafaring

He says that he accompanied an expedition of four ships, by command of "King Ferdinand of *Castille,*" a title that monarch never bore; who chose him to "help in the discovery," in what function he does not state. He gives no name of commander, ships, or associates, or any other details. He always has a horror of identifiable names or facts: of names, partly not to distract attention from himself, partly from shrewd policy, as we shall show; of facts, because they would at once give the lie to his composite fables.

Vagueness of his stories

Did such an expedition sail? There is no scrap of public record or private allusion to show that it left Spain or was fitted out; no note or claim

of any navigator or pilot who sailed on it; no report of its return; no sign of any discoveries made by it. Had it made such as Vespucci claims, all Europe would have rung with it, and the commander would have strutted as a second Columbus; it being the third real voyage of discovery from Spain, and most marvelous of all. Las Casas, a contemporary of the highest rank in knowledge and truthfulness, never heard of it. Yet of the relatively insignificant voyage of Ojeda two years later, when Vespucci did go, there is enough and to spare of contemporary information. Years later, when Columbus' son Diego brought suit to reclaim his right to his father's royalties, and the Crown wished to reduce them to the smallest amount possible, no such expedition was even mentioned, though it would have enriched the government heavily to show great mainland discoveries preceding Columbus'. The contention that it was not brought forward because its discoveries were in a different quarter from Columbus', we shall discuss presently.

Voyage of 1497 not known at the time

Given such a voyage, was Vespucci on it? In default of the records referred to by Muñoz, a negative cannot be proved. But as Columbus in 1497 was complaining that "any tailor could go and make discoveries now," and protesting against the open trade as robbery of himself, he would hardly have been so gracious to Vespucci afterwards, had the latter been the real head of the one royal expetion sent out just in time to evade the counteredict. The utmost that can be granted is that

Vespucci not on it if real

if Muñoz was mistaken, Vespucci may possibly have gone to sea unofficially in a voyage that accomplished nothing—a concession to which his admirers are welcome.

Vespucci "discovered" nothing

Granting the other two, was he the "discoverer" on the expedition? Nothing could be more absurd. A raw landsman was not made director, or chief adviser and unofficial head, of a voyage specially intended to save paying any more royalties to the great seaman Columbus. The commander of such expeditions decided on the course, unless he chose to take advice from the captains; if any discoveries were made, he claimed and was accorded the credit. A mariner so superhumanly modest that he never opened his lips about the discovery of four thousand miles of new continent during his lifetime, but left an amateur astronomer on board to arrogate all the credit to himself seven years later, is a phenomenon we may be excused for discrediting. Spanish sea-dogs in the fifteenth century were not of that mold; nor indeed any in any century. Even the practical task of working out the course, in that age of rudimentary nautical instruments, was committed to expert seamen as pilots; and it often took all the expert seamanship of the fleet to find their course and save themselves from wreck. Vespucci would have been snubbed as a land-lubber had he undertaken to interfere. His position on such a voyage could have been only that of a supernumerary, a self-advertised authority on charts or astronomy, to consult on occasion in calm

weather. Hence its discoveries would not have been his in any sense, nor were they when he did go. But his letters cleverly imply, or boldly assert, that he was the real scientific director on all his voyages, without whom they might not have found anything or even got safe home; and it is discreditable to common sense that he has so often been taken at his word.[1]

Vespucci's scientific navigation

Vespucci is perpetually boasting of his skill in astronomy and navigation, and how none of his associates knew anything in comparison, and how badly they would have fared without him, and did fare by disregarding his advice. Yet he says that he made land in 16° north latitude and 70° west of the Grand Canary (85° to 86° west longitude, or almost exactly Cape Honduras), not quite four thousand geographical or forty-six hundred English miles from the Canaries, on a course west by a point southwest. These parallels are over a thousand miles further, on a different tack; and the actual course and distance would bring him to the Gulf of Paria, where Columbus had been, so that his northerly coasting was simply

[1] Harrisse curiously argues that Vespucci must have gone on a voyage in an important position prior to 1499, because "he could not have passed from Berardi's counting-room to the helm of Ojeda's flag-ship," and "must have acquired considerable nautical experience before being intrusted with" such a post. The helm and the flag-ship are rhetorical inventions; but the argument destroys itself. He was as little likely to be sent from the counting-room to the helm in 1497 as in 1499. If the king could turn a provision dealer into a competent nautical director in the former year, he could in the latter. It proves once more that in any case he was a mere subordinate, even in 1499; for one voyage would not make a man a seaman.

along the shores which Columbus had traversed. That was in fact what happened on the real Ojeda voyage of 1499, his first: he has transferred the reckonings to the imaginary one, and put down latitude and longitude out of his own head, as no one could tell what was there. This is the world's ultimate security of detecting a fabulist: he cannot make all of his details hang together as knowledge increases. It proves also that Vespucci's expert science is equally fictitious; for he wrote this after he had actually been over the course. He had too little scientific groundwork even to learn from experience. He won his position later by sheer assumption and impudence, or what modern slang would term "bluff."

Vespucci's real first voyage

Then he says that after reaching 23° north latitude (a little north of Tampico in Mexico, if his landfall is granted), he sailed eight hundred and seventy leagues (Spanish, about thirty-five hundred geographical or four thousand English miles), always in sight of the coast, on a steady northwest course! This would have taken him through the heart of North America and landed him in British Columbia. Surely never was guesswork more reckless; but who could contradict him?

His alleged course

The defense has been made for him, that his parallels are correct though his distances and courses are all wrong; that he did really make a landfall about Cape Honduras instead of the South American coast, and circled the entire Gulf coast and part of that of the Atlantic side. In this case, we have the remarkable fact that he rounded the

Defense of Vespucci

Yucatan peninsula at one end of his course and that of Florida at the other, and passed the great Texan rivers and the Mississippi delta, and does not mention any one of them;[1] still more, that from Tampico he turns a course (roughly) first north, then northeast, then east nearly a thousand miles, then south for some hundreds, then east around the tip of Florida, then north by west for at least two or three hundred more, and on one theory northeast to Cape Hatteras and north to Chesapeake Bay, into a course steadily northwest! The veriest landsman who ever sailed on a harbor excursion could not perpetrate this, about a voyage he had really taken; nor could Vespucci.

The Gulf coast an impossibility

The matter of the rivers and peninsulas not having been adduced by Vespucci's critics heretofore, his champions naturally have not raised it. As to the course, there being absolutely no defense, they fall back on the theory of error in the text. In one view, he wrote carelessly, and meant that he *started* northwest, and then followed the course for the distance given. His language cannot be so read. He never writes carelessly: no one ever knew better the points he wished to make. In this case, he says with perfect clearness, "We sailed along the coast, always in sight of land, until we had run along it a distance of eight hundred and seventy leagues, always toward the northwest." And no writer who ever lived would

Theory of error in text

[1] If his country of "numerous and large rivers" be identified with these, it becomes pertinent to inquire how the Indians of Texas came to be roasting and eating iguanas.

describe a journey of four thousand miles, to every point of the compass, by telling merely the tack on which he started the first day. Another suggestion is that he wrote "northeast," which would have taken him across the Gulf and over the Appalachian slope into Quebec, and is almost as little related to the actual course as the other. A third, holding that Vespucci would not make so obvious a blunder, cuts the Gordian knot by assuming some unspecified error of copyist or compositor. But no conceivable misprint or miscopying can have produced this blundering: it is implicit in the very texture of the statement. And we must remember that obvious as it is to us, it was beyond suspicion to his contemporaries, for the lands were not known. Furthermore, the original Italian and the Latin translation both agree in this rendering.

Various suggestions of textual error

One champion[1] goes a step further still, and boldly pronounces the letter a "clumsy abstract" from Vespucci's mythical "Four Voyages," noted below. Abstract by whom? If by himself, he had the same knowledge to work on, and would not be likely to condense truth into falsehood and sense into nonsense. And he is anything but a clumsy writer: he is an adept at telling a spicy "yarn," with himself as the hero, no other personalities to divide the attention, and the fiction plausible to strangers. As to an abstract by some one else from a book never heard of outside Vespucci's letters, an abstract published as his own

The "abstract" theory

[1] Harrisse.

and never contradicted by him, we need not waste space in discussing it.

It is much easier to believe him a clever smatterer, inventing a travel-story to advance his home reputation, and putting in imaginary courses and distances, than to accept such wild distortions of rational probability. Indeed, any theory of his veracity involves perpetual violence to every rule of human reasoning.

The real explanation

The further defense is made, that he left out precisely everything which would enable us to identify his narrative, because his correspondent would not be interested in it. This may pass with those who have not read his letters: it is strange to find able historical scholars advancing it. It would have been much more interesting to Soderini or Piero de' Medici to know that the eminent mariner So-and-So commanded one expedition, and the celebrated navigator Don Fulano another, and the noted pilot Quelqu'un was along, than that Vespucci saw "many strange things," and that Dante had held the opinion that the Ocean Sea was uninhabited, and that Vespucci named an unknown cape St. Augustine, and that his knowledge of the marine chart was worth more than all the pilots in the world, and that the natives called the Spaniards Carabi, which they did not, and that it meant "men of great wisdom," which it did not. The mouths of the Mississippi would have been far more interesting than the "finest harbor in the world," not further described, and which no two writers have ever agreed in identifying.

His idea of interesting news

Comparison of interesting facts

The immense peninsulas of Yucatan and Florida would have been more interesting than unknown islands, all just alike. It would have been at least as interesting to know the names of the ships in the fleet, and the size of the crews, as to know that Vespucci ordered the fleet supplied with wood and water for six months, and that in a fight with the Indians one man was killed and twenty-two wounded, and that two hundred and twenty-two Indian slaves were brought back to Spain; even though, by curious coincidences which his correspondent did not know, the last two happen to be almost exactly the numbers in similar experiences of Ojeda's two years later. Here and there an omission of an important fact, or a capricious selection, would be natural; but when *all* the clues are systematically suppressed, we begin to grow suspicious. It is not in nature that an honest man, telling a true story, should *always* think his fleet commander's name and the captains' names and the size of the expedition too dry to relate.

Obvious blunders or inventions

He tells an astonishing mass of things, "manners and customs" of the natives he found, learned in a few days, when (as Las Casas noted in his time) many months would have been needed to acquire the information, and he knew not a word of their language on landing. He gives a list of animals, which Las Casas says are nearly all fictitious. He gives four alleged native words: one misrendered and absurd; and three which do not belong to the language of the tribes where his defenders say he landed, but two to that of the

West India islands where Columbus had been, and one to Africa, the latter misdefined. He gives also two native names of places: one either invented or miscaught from Columbus' men, the other certainly taken from Columbus.[1]

Wrong citation of words

He says the expedition discovered some four thousand English miles of new coast not before known, besides about a thousand more which we must allow from 16° around Yucatan to the 23° he counts from. We have already shown the absurdity of supposing that the government never claimed these discoveries to its own profit, that the commander never claimed them to his own glory, that no one ever heard of them till an amateur supernumerary announced and claimed them seven years afterward. La Cosa's map, three years after they were ostensibly made, has no sign of them, though map-makers were wild to put every scrap of new discovery into their maps, even if they had the positions all wrong. But it shows a rather minute knowledge of Cabot's discoveries

The "discoveries" not known in their generation

[1] To specify:—He says the natives called the Spaniards "Carabi," meaning "men of great wisdom." The word is of course merely the name of the Caribs. And as Las Casas observes, how could he have known such a meaning even if true, when he did not know the names for food or drink? He says they make flour out of a tree-root (manioc), which some call *yucca*, others *cazabi* and *ignami*. Nothing could better show the hap-hazard way in which this alleged "voyage" was fadged up from second-hand sources; and all the accounts of his other voyages are made up in the same way, even when the voyages themselves are genuine. *Yucca* and *cazabi* (cassava) mean respectively the manioc and bread from it; but the words are not Mexican but West-Indian. As to *ignami*, it is simply "yam" (Sp. *ñame*), an African word, neither Mexican nor West-Indian; it was doubtless current in Lisbon. And no one who had actually *been* to Mexico could possibly have confounded manioc and sweet potatoes.

Testimony of the maps

for England in the same year 1497. Why should a Spanish pilot and cartographer know what the English had found, and not what a Spanish royal expedition had found?[1] The Cantino map of 1502, compiled with the assistance of Vespucci himself, gives a sketch of the coast from about Pensacola east around Florida and some way up the Atlantic side (it has been called Yucatan instead of Florida, but we think wrongly); but of

[1] One of the most curious defenses of Vespucci is based on this map. La Cosa was one of the band with Columbus in 1494 who swore they believed Cuba to be a continent. Yet on his map of 1500 it is set down as an island. Obviously some one must have found out its insularity meantime. Thus far, the argument is unanswerable. But the continuation is a logical curio, involving no less then four totally unrelated *non-sequiturs*, the first one certainly untrue: to wit, that the expedition of Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis to Honduras, formerly accredited to 1506, must have been the one which found it in 1497 instead; and that Vespucci must have been with it. Now that expedition was in 1508, and went in the other direction; there is no evidence that Cuba's insularity was found by an "expedition" proper, and the probabilities are against it; nor that it was found in 1497; nor that Vespucci was along. He makes no mention of this most important discovery, one of the most vital of all early exploration—probably because it was "uninteresting"; his course as reported by himself is entirely incompatible with a voyage around Cuba; and it is most unlikely that this one discovery of the expedition was given to the world, and three or four thousand miles of new coast, rich with great rivers and immense peninsulas, suppressed. Why the knowledge of Cuba's being an island stole out so silently, we cannot tell. Probably it was obtained either by some unauthorized private adventurer, or from natives better informed than the ones Columbus met.—Harrisse makes the point that La Cosa's map shows an unbroken continental line from opposite Cuba to Cabot's discoveries. But this is not at all like the coast which Vespucci would have put down had he been along it. It is an imaginary Asiatic coast, on the north of which Cabot was supposed to have made a landfall, and near which "Cipango" and its fellow islands were supposed to be. (Note that Peter Martyr's map even of 1510 is of "Asia beyond the Ganges.") Indeed, as we show in the text, the map two years later than this, based on Vespucci's own knowledge, gives no coast west of Pensacola. Vespucci cannot have forgotten in 1502 a continent all men knew to exist in 1500.

the vast Gulf coast curving around to Yucatan and Honduras, and including the Mississippi delta and the host of great Texas rivers, not a scratch, even to show that a coast was suspected there instead of an ocean. It is absurd to suppose he had forgotten these huge features, or passed by without noticing any of them, unless he slept during the entire voyage. Pineda noticed the Mississippi twenty years later, from its floods of fresh water pouring into the Gulf. Either Vespucci had not thought of inventing the voyage in 1502, or he thought it unsafe to invite public criticism by putting on a map exactly what he claimed.[1]

What Vespucci did not see

Even Peter Martyr's map of 1510 has nothing of the alleged discoveries, though the author was intimate with both Vespucci and his nephew, and Vespucci at this time was Chief Pilot of Spain. Ponce de Leon in the year after was given the right to explore and discover the Florida coast, though the defense of Vespucci by his champions rests wholly on his having traversed the northern Gulf coast instead of the southern.[2] If he did neither, he went nowhere in 1497—which is the fact. His descriptions are partly taken from

Florida not discovered by Vespucci

[1] We do not know whence the Cantino Florida was derived; probably, like the Cuba above, from sources other than notorious public expeditions.

[2] Of course this by itself is as strong an argument against the authenticity of the Cantino map as against that of Vespucci's voyage. There is this difference, however: that the source of the map was probably not recognized as official or provable, whereas had Vespucci given it from his voyage, Ponce de Leon would never have been allowed the honor and profit of claiming an old discovery as new.

the South American coast and natives he saw in his real first voyage of 1499, and transferred to the fictitious one of 1497; partly from other explorers' accounts; and partly from pure imagination. Similarly, his account of the real second voyage is pieced out with items from Pinzon's voyage of the same year, 1499, and much of it spun from his own head. The attempt to verify their details is hopeless, because at best they represent no one set of events, and often nothing in the world of reality.

How Vespucci fabricated his accounts

But it is needless to multiply proofs concerning this fabulous "first voyage." We are far from having exhausted them; but too much space cannot be given, in a history of what happened in the discovery of America, to a history of what did not happen. Yet the intimate intertwining of this fabrication with the very warp and woof of the first discovery, and its acceptance even now in high places, compels a careful analysis.

Of the arguments on the other side, the only one of much force is that Ferdinand Columbus, an ardent champion of his father, and always ready to assail any one who detracted from that father's glory, had Vespucci's account before him in the treatise where it was first proposed to name the New World after him, and never contradicted the claim. This has led some of the foremost scholars simply to question Ferdinand's having written the famous "Life of the Admiral" which passes under his name. It is more probable that he did not regard the suggestion

Ferdinand Columbus and Vespucci

of naming the new continent after Vespucci as likely to be taken seriously, especially as the entire literary circle at St. Dié (to be noted later) was broken up and some of the chief members dead; and the discoveries themselves had been so carefully located in No-man's Land that they did not conflict with Columbus'.

The latter fact also explains why it is that the letters of Vespucci, though appearing in the lifetime of Columbus and many other eminent navigators and notables, called out no contradiction from them.[1] If Columbus saw them, they did not seem to cross his path, and why should he go out of his way to throw down another man's ladder? For the rest, Vespucci's astuteness in never giving any names stood him in excellent stead. He roused no personal animosities, and brought no one into the field to dispute him. No captain need say that Vespucci did *not* sail under him, or that the events of his expedition were misstated, for Vespucci had made no assertions about him or his expedition. In later ages, this would have been perilous; but Vespucci knew his time and his audience. A good story about wonders seen in strange places, with no one interested to dispute it, was perfectly safe. If a Las Casas saw through and contemptuously dismissed it as rubbish, he was only one, and he was a generation too late.

Why Vespucci was not contradicted

We need not judge Vespucci too severely for doing what many others have done,—trying to

[1] Harrisse makes much of this.

convince the people of his old town, and not impossibly the mercantile house which had discharged him, that he was a much greater man than they had thought him; but it makes the need of wasting so much attention upon him rather wearisome. His accounts of the voyages he did make are worth little more than those he did not, as said, since we cannot disentangle the facts from the fiction. He was a singularly bad observer and narrator, except in the art of magnifying himself and making an entertaining story. He could have made still more entertaining ones from what he actually did see, and really valuable ones, had it not suited him better to compile vague fictions for his own glory. He had a constant purpose with which the truth would have been wholly incompatible.

Vespucci's motive

Almost everything of real value for information was always left for a book on his "Four Voyages," about which he tells all sorts of stories. He has finished it, but does not revise and publish it because the bad state of his affairs has taken all the heart out of him; he is going to write it later; he has it partly done, but is going to settle down quietly in Florence and finish it. There is no reason to suppose he ever wrote a line of it; no one else, then or later, has ever seen or at least mentioned it; and the watch for its possible appearance, and the speculations as to portions of it having been used in other works, are diverting. We doubt if he ever intended to write it, even at Florence. It was much more valuable for his

His "Four Voyages"

purpose in expectance than it could have been in reality, with its figments in open daylight for exposure.

His other voyages, real or unreal, may be dismissed much more briefly. The first real one (which he calls the second) was taken under Alonso de Ojeda. It sailed from Cadiz on the 20th of May, 1499, with four vessels (Vespucci says three, and on the 16th, and of course does not mention Ojeda or any one else), and landed south of the Gulf of Paria, off the mouths of the Orinoco. Ojeda then followed the coast northward, over the track already traced by Columbus, around to the west; passed through the gulf and out by the "Dragon's Mouth"; visited the islands of Margarita and Curacoa (the latter he calls the "Isle of Giants," apparently from misunderstanding the natives' horror-stricken allusions to the irresistible Caribs); saw a village on piles at the Gulf of Maracaibo, and named it Venezuela ("Little Venice"); and closed the voyage at Cape de la Vela, having gone about nine hundred miles along the Pearl Coast. He fought a battle with the Indians, having one man mortally and twenty somewhat wounded (note Vespucci's figures on the "first" voyage). After spending some time there (Vespucci falsely says about a year), he went to Hispaniola, and attempted to incite an insurrection and overthrow and seize Columbus (Las Casas thinks incited by Fonseca). Thence he proceeded to some other islands and carried off two hundred and thirty-

Vespucci's first real voyage

two Indians for slaves (compare Vespucci), and reached Cadiz in February, 1500. Vespucci was probably a volunteer, very likely one of the shareholders Ojeda had been compelled to admit in order to raise funds. His scientific talk doubtless soon accredited him as an expert astronomer. His own account of the voyage gives several grossly false dates, and misstates the latitude.

Vespucci in Portugal

On his return he went to live at Seville, and later to Lisbon. He says King Emanuel of Portugal invited him, through an Italian messenger, and was very anxious to secure his services. It is only necessary to say that his name does not occur in any connection in the Portuguese royal correspondence from 1495 to 1503, nor in any of the Portuguese documents in the archives at Lisbon and Paris; more than a hundred thousand of which were examined by the keeper of the Portuguese archives, Viscount de Santarem.

Vespucci's "third voyage"

He says he went on an exploring voyage with three ships along the Brazilian coast from March 10, 1501, to September 7, 1502, under Portuguese auspices. This he calls his third voyage; and concerning this he wrote a letter to the head of his old house the Medici, as well as to Soderini. It will not surprise the reader to know that the two letters contradict each other, as he wrote them a year and a half apart, and had probably forgotten what fictions he had put into one before he composed the other. In one he sets his departure at the 10th of March, in the other at the 14th of May. He puts the same spot, Cape Verde, at 13°

north latitude in one and 10° 30′ in the other. In one he says the natives were very friendly; in the other, that a youth sent on a message of amity was at once murdered, torn to pieces, and roasted before their eyes. He gives a long account of the Indians, which as before he must have invented, as he could not have discovered the facts. He puts the constellations in places impossible at the latitude he states. In both letters he talks impudent nonsense about his measurements of the stars. To Soderini he says that he drew figures of the orbits of all the large ones around the South Pole, with "their" diameters and semi-diameters; which might mean stars or orbits, though either is a foolish fiction. But to De' Medici he says explicitly that he "measured the circumference and diameters of the *stars* by a geometrical method, ascertaining which were the largest." Comment is needless, on this statement of a provision dealer who graduated into a great explorer by his self-bruited knowledge of astronomy. He also takes up considerable space in sneering at pilots in general, "who only know the way to the places where they have sailed often," and in boasting of his own superiority as a master of broad nautical science. In this letter he blossoms out as *the* discoverer on the voyage. "*My* navigation," he repeatedly calls it. "*I* have found a continent in that southern part." "If my companions had not trusted in me, to whom cosmography was known, no one, not the leader of our navigation" (unnamed), "would have known where we were after running five

Vespucci's contradictions

His brag

hundred leagues." "I showed them that a knowledge of the marine chart" is "worth more than all the pilots in the world."

Cabral's voyage

It is curious that an expedition in three ships, under Pedro Alvarez Cabral, actually did sail from Portugal about this time. Its particulars are known, and include things whose omission by Vespucci, if he were upon it, must be ascribed to his wary dislike of all facts which can nail his account to any definite voyage. Cabral, libeled by name, might have made it very unpleasant for him.

Another alleged voyage from Lisbon cannot be identified even to this extent, because Vespucci this time not merely suppresses the commander's name, but with unusual prudence omits even the year of departure—probably as "uninteresting" to his correspondent. He says, however, that the expedition returned to Lisbon on the 18th of June. As he says there were six ships, and it came after his other alleged voyage, he probably had in mind—it is an abuse of language to say "described"—the expedition of that size which sailed from Lisbon on June 10, 1503, under Gonzalo Coelho; the only one which left Portugal in that year. If so, Vespucci tells even wilder falsehoods than usual. He denounces the nameless commander without stint, and says that five of the ships were lost through his "presumption and folly," and from not listening to Vespucci's advice; that he was lost with them, and only Vespucci's ship saved. In fact, Coelho came back

Coelho's voyage

with four of his ships. Here, again, Vespucci could skulk behind the anonymity of his story. He calls himself the captain of one ship ("the commander ordered me to go to the island in my ship"), tells how he became separated from the rest of the fleet, and asks, "What will your Magnificence think of my finding myself a thousand leagues from Lisbon with few men?" Thereafter our hero, as sole commander, touched at Bahia harbor, waited over two months for the rest of the fleet, then sailed a thousand miles further and built and garrisoned a fort. On this testimony, from the one who should know best, Vespucci is gravely set down in good histories as the founder of the first settlement in South America. He does not find the number of men and bombards left in the fort, the length of time for which it was provisioned, or the length of his stay, uninteresting.

Vespucci in the Southern Seas

The expedition had been intended to reach Malacca, which Vespucci says is 33° south latitude! It is in fact 2° 14′ north latitude. For an expert cosmographer at the outset, as we are assured Vespucci was, and who had been seven years voyaging in the western seas besides, as he assures us he had, this is certainly a remarkable calculation, and happily illustrates his statement that his companions would not have known where they were on the sea but for him. Columbus' calculations, when he had anything to go upon, were of a very different order: he always knew very nearly where he was, and when he differed from

His expert calculations

LETTER OF COLUMBUS CONCERNING VESPUCCI

Facsimile from the National Historical Archives at Madrid

(TRANSLATION)

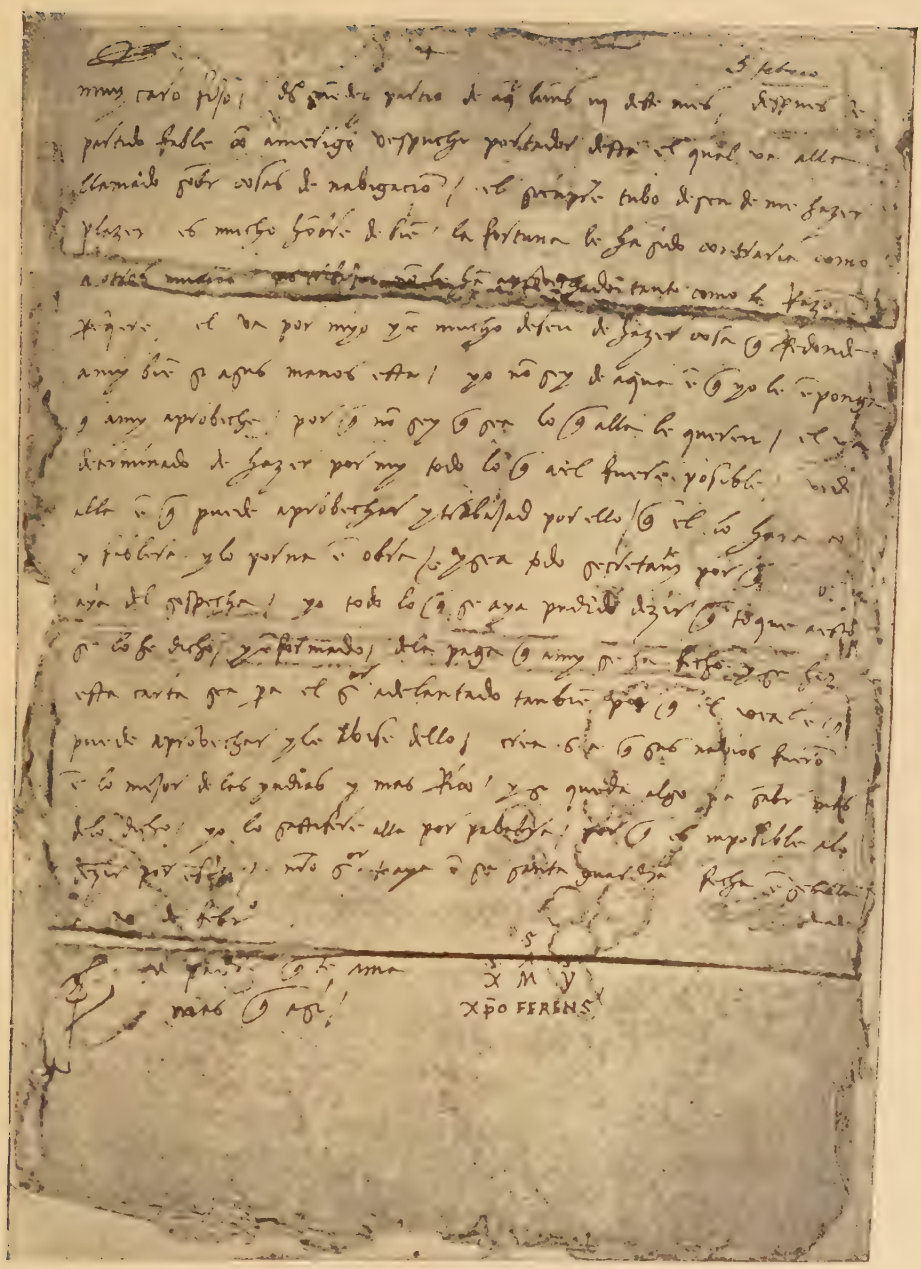
MY DEAR SON:

Diego Mendez left here Monday, the 3d of this month. After his departure I talked with Amerigo Vespucci, the bearer of this, who is going there on a summons about matters of navigation. He always had a desire to please me. He is a very honest man. Fortune has been contrary with him as with many others. His labors have not profited him so much as he had a right to expect. He goes on my behalf, and with great desire to do something for my benefit, if it lies in his power. I cannot advise him here as to what will profit me, because I do not know what they want him there for. He goes with the determination to do everything possible for me. See what he can do there to advantage, and work for him, so that he may do everything, and talk, and put affairs in train; and let it all be done secretly, so he may not be suspected. And all that could be said concerning this matter I have told him; and informed him of the payments which have been made to me and are being made. This letter is for the adelantado as well, that he may see what can be done to advantage and advise about it. Let his Highness be sure that his ships were in the best and richest part of the Indies; and if he wants to know anything more than I have told you, I will satisfy him verbally there, for it is impossible to tell it in writing. Our Lord have you in his holy keeping.

Done in Seville, the 5th day of February (1505).

Your father who loves you more than himself.

The initials below the signature cannot be rendered with certainty. Of many guesses, two are most plausible: "Servus Supplex Altissimi Salvatoris [the Supplicating Servant of the Most High Savior]—Christus, Maria, Yoseph"; and "Servidor sus Altezas Sacras [the Servant of their Sacred Majesties]—Christus, Maria, Ysabel [or Yoseph]."



LETTER OF COLUMBUS CONCERNING VESPUCCI.

of Vespucci over the heads of Solis, La Cosa, Pinzon, etc., is of the same stripe. During 1506 and 1507 he was provisioning the fleet for Vicente Yañez Pinzon's voyage of 1508.[1] On the 6th of August in that year he was made Chief Pilot of Spain, passing over numerous competent navigators; his salary was 75,000 maravedis (about $4,500) a year. He was to prepare a chart (the *Padron Real*) from which all ships' charts were to be taken, and all pilots must pass an examination under him before they could be licensed.

Vespucci as chief pilot

He died at Seville, Feb. 22, 1512, well-to-do and immortal, with as little claim to the latter as almost any man who has attained to the honor. He had good abilities; but they were the abilities of the cuckoo who lays its eggs in others' nests. Perhaps it is fairer to say that he was like a lawyer who can get up a specious case, and convince a jury who know nothing of the facts but what he tells them. It is one of the many ironies of fate that this shallow pretender must have more space even in this History than most of the far greater men who have found or made the white man's America.

His death and character

We cannot even yet have done with him. It will be expected that we should here consider the

[1] This voyage has been a bone of bitter contention. Herrera, a contemporary, gave it as 1506. This was long accepted, but Navarrete in the last century exhaustively showed it to be impossible. This left it in the air, and Varnhagen seized the chance to set it back to 1497, and put Vespucci on it. Markham shows this in turn to be impossible, and makes it practically certain that 1508 is the true date.

question of the name *America,* and how it came to be conferred on the new continent.

The St. Dié group

At this time one of the literary centres of Southern Europe was at St. Dié, a small town in the French Vosges, the seat of Duke René of Lorraine. His patronage had gathered a very brilliant society there; and it had an ancient conventual college, where that very *Image of the World* had been written which Columbus had studied so thoroughly. The professor of Latin was one Ringmann, the professor of geography Martin Waldseemüller; both young and ardent men. Among the canons of the chapter who managed the college were the Duke's secretary, Walter Lud, and one Jean de Sandacourt. This group were planning a new and fine edition of Ptolemy, to contain the additions which the new discoveries in geography were making; and Waldseemüller (Latinized punningly as *Hylacomylus*) wrote a treatise as an introduction, called *Cosmographiæ Introductio.* Just at this time appeared Vespucci's letter to Soderini, full of intense new interest,

Vespucci's letters accepted

and as it was supposed, of valuable new facts; Sandacourt translated it into Latin, and Waldseemüller added it to his treatise, while Ringmann wrote and appended some verses in praise of Vespucci. The latter's claim to have first seen, or been the virtual head of the expedition which saw, a new continent—that is, the northeastern part of South America, which Columbus had in fact discovered—was taken at its face value; and the enthusiastic Waldseemüller indorses it in two

places, with the unhappily blessed suggestion that Vespucci was entitled to have named after him the new world he had discovered.

Name "America" suggested

In the first instance the language is: "And the fourth part of the world, having been discovered by Americus [Amerigo], may be called Amerige or America—that is, the land of Americus." The other citation is as follows: "Now truly, as these regions are more widely explored, and another fourth part is discovered by Americus Vesputius, as may be learned from the following letter, I see no reason why it should not be called Amerige—that is, the land of Americus—from its discoverer, a man of acute intellect; inasmuch as both Europe and Asia have chosen their names from those of women."

First meaning of the name

It will be seen that the new name at first meant merely the section of South America which we call Brazil and Guiana, the West Indies being still supposed part of Asia. As the knowledge grew that all this land was a new continent, the name of America was gradually extended to all.

Several of the other mariners who took their cue from Columbus, and were associated with him on these voyages, became in turn independent navigators; and some of these showed themselves to be worthy of the epoch. Many of them fitted out private expeditions of discovery; for discovery was the mood of the age. We shall here enumerate the leading characters who may be regarded as the companions of Columbus—companions either in fact or in time.

One such contemporary was Alonso de Ojeda, already often spoken of by us. He was a Spanish cavalier, twenty-four years of age at the time of the Columbian discoveries. He embarked with Columbus on his second high-hopeful voyage in 1493, and while absent in the West Indies became the most audacious and eccentric of all the subordinate leaders of the enterprise. One of Ojeda's exploits was the capture of Caonabo, the great cacique of Hayti, by inducing that native dignitary to mount behind him for a sportive race on horseback. Thereupon Ojeda rode off at full speed into the Spanish barracks, with the chief behind him.

Ojeda captures Caonabo

On his return to Spain, Ojeda would fain become a discoverer on his own account. The expedition of May 20, 1499, we have already been obliged to narrate in outline, in connection with Vespucci. Juan de La Cosa was also with him, as pilot. Ojeda, it is said, had procured a copy of the sailing chart which Columbus had sent back from the West Indies. By this, the voyage was easily prosecuted to the coast of South America, which was reached at a point only a short distance north of the equatorial line. The expedition proceeded thence northward past the mouth of the Essequibo, and proceeded along the Pearl Coast as we have said; Ojeda's attention attracted especially by the native town on piles, suggesting that spot

Ojeda skirts the Pearl coast

"Where Venice sate in state, throned on her hundred Isles."

What else he did, we have sufficiently told. Already before this feather-headed adventurer and practical joker left the western waters, two other independent navigators, Cristobal Guerra and Pedro Alonso Niño, arrived in the Gulf of Pearls. These adventurers followed Ojeda but a few days later, gathering what they could and completing their cargo in the isle of Margarita; thence they departed for Spain. There they arrived in the spring of 1500, and it was said that for the time they made pearls in the Spanish market to be "as common as chaffe."

Guerra and Niño

Of the two Pinzons, Martin Alonso and Vicente Yañez, something has already been said in connection with the outgoings of Columbus. For these two were the captains respectively of the *Pinta* and the *Niña* on the first daring voyage. The self-inflicted disgrace and abrupt death of Martin Alonso have been narrated. Vicente was nineteen years younger than his brother, and outlived him thirty-one years. Both were ambitious men: Vicente had the happier destiny.

While Ojeda and Guerra and Niño were yet in the western seas, Pinzon the younger prepared a fleet for himself in the harbor of Palos, and undertook on his own account a voyage of discovery under the Spanish flag. He was a capable navigator, highly esteemed in his day. His squadron consisted of four vessels, and set sail in December 1499. He now took his course in a southwesterly direction to the coast of South America. He crossed the equator and came to

Vicente Yañez Pinzon

land about eight degrees south of that line, in the vicinity of Pernambuco. The reader keeping in mind the synchronism of events will note this passage of the equator by Pinzon's fleet, as the first voyage made by white men beyond the central line in the waters washing the Western Hemisphere.

Discovery of the Amazon

Vicente, after finding the coast, sailed northward across the equator, for some reason standing well out to sea. While far beyond sight of land in the supposably briny ocean, it was discovered that the water was perfectly sweet and drinkable. Instantly turning landward to learn the reason, he made one of those great discoveries only possible a few times in the history of the world. Before him stretched the mouth of the mightiest river on the globe, the Amazon, a hundred miles wide. As Columbus had done in the case of the Orinoco, two years previously, Vicente noted the inconceivable volume of water which the great river poured into the sea, freshening it for more than a hundred miles to the east. Thence the voyage was continued between the mainland and Trinidad, and thence in a northeasterly direction until the fleet touched at Hispaniola. Afterwards Vicente returned safely—except for the loss of two ships in a hurricane—to Spain, where he arrived in September of 1500.

Pinzon and Solis at Honduras

A period of about eight years elapsed before Vicente Yañez undertook a new expedition to the West, being in 1508 associated with Juan Diaz de Solis in an expedition to the coast of Honduras,

and thence to Yucatan.[1] Having explored these shores, the fleet sailed on to Cape St. Augustine (Pernambuco), where a landing was made. Then the adventurers undertook and accomplished the exploration of the South American shores, from St. Augustine by the way of the bay of Rio de Janeiro, as far as 40° south latitude.

Solis was himself a navigator of no mean calibre. He was still a young man at the date of the Columbian discoveries; but he took an active interest in the revelations of the west, and seems to have been associated with Coelho in the expedition of 1503. In 1513 he was made chief pilot of Spain as successor of Vespucci, and with much better claim. Three years afterward he accompanied Diego de Lepe with a fleet of three ships in a southwesterly expedition, hoping to discover an open route to the Pacific, the existence of which Balboa had now made known to Europe. Finding the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, he imagined that to be the open way. He ascended the river for some distance, but in 1516 he was attacked on shore by the Indians, killed and eaten. Vicente Pinzon lived until after 1523, when all the eastern coasts of America had been made known, and the Pacific circumnavigated by Magellan.

Discovery of the La Plata

As for Alonzo de Ojeda, he made two more voyages to the northern coast of South America.

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[1] This is the voyage it has been attempted to antedate to 1497, and associate Vespucci with. The latter claim we have thoroughly disproved; and the absence of any knowledge of the northern and western Gulf coast beyond Pensacola in 1502 (Cantino map) sufficiently disproves the former. There are, however, still other decisive reasons.

Ojeda's second voyage

The first was in 1502. To forestall occupation by the English—whom, to his huge disgust, he found there—he was given permission to colonize and govern the province of Coquimbacoa; and in company with Juan de Vergara and Garcia del Ocampo, he left Cadiz January 15. Food gave out; the natives were hostile; the partners quarreled; the other two seized Ojeda and carried him to Hispaniola, arriving in September. He was eventually set at liberty, but the expedition was a failure.

Ojeda's last voyage

In 1509 another effort was made in the same region. Ojeda was to govern a province from the Gulf of Urabá or Darien east to Maracaibo, called New Andalusia; Diego de Nicuesa was to govern another west from the same gulf to Honduras. Evil fortune pursued both. Their food supply was to come from Jamaica; but Diego Columbus, of whose rights this whole affair was a glaring violation, refused to allow it. Ojeda therefore attempted to provide a supply by capturing some Indians to sell in Hispaniola; but all the slave-hunting party except himself and one other were killed, including La Cosa, who had objected to the quest. Ojeda was rescued from starvation by Nicuesa, and began a settlement on the Gulf of Urabá called San Sebastian. Food ran short, and Ojeda sailed for Hispaniola to obtain more, leaving Francisco Pizarro in command; with permission for the entire party to leave in fifty days and seek their own fortunes, if he did not return. His vessel was wrecked on Cuba, and he reached

San Domingo only after great suffering and far more than the fifty days. His party had broken up, he was penniless and without prestige, no one would help him fit out a fresh expedition, and the remaining five years of his life were spent in utter penury and wretchedness. He died in 1515. Of all his work, thus much remained: his colony at Darien had been rescued by an expedition from San Domingo before he arrived, and was preserved; and from this vantage-ground explorers soon went out, one to discover the Pacific Ocean, and another to find the silver mines of Peru.

Death of Ojeda

We may now turn to the consideration of the work of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, the Portuguese navigator whose enterprise signified so much to the kingdom whose flag he bore. He was one of the earlier adventurers, whose enterprises lie at least partly in the fifteenth century. Cabral was already thirty-two years of age when America was discovered. When Da Gama came back from his marvelous circumnavigation of Africa, the government gave a commission to Cabral to follow up the work so well begun. A fleet of thirteen vessels was accordingly prepared in 1499, and Cabral left Lisbon on the 9th of March in the following year. Sailing southwestward far out to sea, probably to avoid the storms around the great western projection of the African continent, he was caught in the strong southwestern equatorial current, and drifted still farther west till he struck the coast of South America. On the 22d of April he sighted

Cabral's voyage

this shore at the present Porto Seguro, 16° 30′ south latitude. He saw at once that this spot, so short a distance west of Africa, must be east of the meridian established by the treaty of 1494, between the Spanish and the Portuguese rights in the western ocean. On the 1st of May he took formal possession for Portugal, and at once sent back a ship to announce the fact to the king. He named the new land Vera Cruz, the True Cross; but the Portuguese at home renamed it Santa Cruz, the Holy Cross, and sometimes Parroqueet Land, from the brilliantly plumaged birds sent home by Cabral.

Cabral finds Brazil

This landfall was of vast importance, and is of still more interest. As to the former, it gave about half the South American continent as an inheritance to Portugal instead of Spain. As to the latter, it shows us that while Providence had assigned the discovery of the Western Hemisphere to Columbus, it had determined that in any event the New World should no longer wait to be known to the Old. Cabral's discovery owed nothing to Columbus'; it was the sequence of the great African coast expeditions, and had America not become known in 1492, it obviously would have become so in 1500. Indeed, even had Cabral's accident not happened, the great voyages made possible by the compass must soon have reached America.

America certain of discovery

King Emanuel could not recover his equanimity after the Columbian bird of good omen had slipped away in 1492 from the Portuguese cage

held by his cousin John, whom he succeeded in 1495. He would fain recover and regain the lost advantage by sending forth his fleets in this direction and in that. There were the Cabots on the American shores with the flag of Henry Tudor. There were the Spaniards scattering themselves at will through all the western islands and along the coasts of the mainland beyond them. Shall not we, the king of Portugal, have a part and lot in the tremendous maritime enterprises of the age? Shall not our flag be raised in the far-off West?

Portuguese regret for lost opportunity

It was in the year 1500 that King Emanuel ordered the sending out of a fleet, the command of which was given to Gaspar Cortereal. Two caravels were provisioned and manned for the venture. The commission was to find a northwest passage to the Indies, or missing that, to discover and claim any of the unknown regions in the far northwest.

Gaspar Cortereal was at this time fifty years of age. He was an experienced navigator, and his two brothers, Miguel the younger and Vasqueanes the elder, were like himself men of the sea. Gaspar set his prows to the northwest, and reached the American coast, about the thirty-fifth or fortieth parallel of north latitude. Thence he sailed away to the north or northeast, according to the conformation of the shores. He traversed our coast for about seven hundred miles, and found himself above the fiftieth parallel of latitude. There his further progress was impeded by the

Gaspar Cortereal

icebergs which thickened in the ocean off the shores of Labrador.

Cortereal inspects Labrador

Cortereal, however, had noted many things as he voyaged along the American coast. He had found races of northern people whom he thought to resemble gypsies. He had noted wooden houses and the skin-made and fur-made clothing of the inhabitants. He had noted the stone implements with which they armed themselves. He had marked the heavy forests of timber—the dark woods of pine and fir. He had considered the seas full of fishes—seemingly enough to supply the world. He had found the bleak shores beyond our Newfoundland, and called the country *Terra Laboratorum;* that is, the Land of Toilers—Labrador. Finally he had observed the excellent hint which the New World gave for the promotion of the slave-trade. He himself would try this business, for he thought the inhabitants to be well fitted for toil, and potentially the best slaves in the world.

Gaspar Cortereal's second voyage

At this point the history of the expeditions of Gaspar Cortereal becomes confused. He is known to have returned to Spain with his two ships, and on one of them to have brought a cargo of natives. It is said that these numbered fifty-seven, and were intended to be sold into servitude. A second voyage was projected, and Cortereal with three vessels departed on May 15, 1501, for the specific purpose of kidnapping another ship-load of Indians. One of the caravels of this fleet returned to Lisbon on the 8th of October, and the

second one came to port three days later. But the ship containing Cortereal was never heard from afterwards; his fate remains in the keeping of the sea.

A year went by, and on the 10th of May, 1502, Miguel Cortereal was sent out on an expedition in the hope of finding his lost brother. This was about eight months after the two of Gaspar Cortereal's caravels had reached the Spanish coast from the second voyage; but Miguel, like his brother did not return. In 1503, when it became evident that neither would reach home again, the elder brother, Vasqueanes, who was at that time governor of Terceira, one of the Azores, sought permission of the Portuguese monarch to undertake a third voyage in search of his two brothers. But Emanuel by this time had had enough of such ill-starred adventures, and the Portuguese dream of the north was thus dissipated forever.

The other Cortereal brothers

After the death of Columbus, in 1506, his raiment was parted, and other Spanish mariners cast lots for their respective shreds of the immortal garments. They followed in his wake—for that was easy to do—to all the islands and coasts which he had visited. Destiny had not reserved for the Man of Genoa the happiness of beholding the shores of North America. Several times he went further from the Spanish ports than would have been necessary to bring him by right-line sailing to our shores; but he died without the sight.

Columbus' successors

The followers of the discoverer had easy work in exploring the coast lines of South America and

Central America; but it was some time before they were able, departing from the well-known course of the master, to reach the mainland of our continent. Meanwhile, Vasco Nuñez Balboa of Xeres, who had already accompanied an expedition under Roderigo Bastidos in 1500, and who had sojourned for a while in Hayti, made his way in 1510 to Darien.

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa

His previous life was sufficiently picturesque. He was a cavalier who possessed some of the qualities of Cortes, and other characteristics that might have belonged to Don Quixote. In Haiti he thought to become a landlord of an estate, but lacked business abilities. He became bankrupt, and in order to escape from his creditors, he secreted himself in a barrel in the hold of an outgoing ship; none other than one of those sent to relieve Ojeda's colony at San Sebastian. He kept himself in hiding until the ship was well away. The captain, Enciso, finding him out, was about to cast him off on the first island; but the valiant Nuñez prayed so eloquently that he was permitted to remain on board. Then a storm came on, and the vessel was wrecked on the coast of Darien. In a wreck, no one inquires of his neighbor about his past life. In fact, Nuñez became the mainstay and presently the leader of the wretched party. He supplanted Enciso, and was first chosen alcalde, and afterwards governor, of the settlement. In this relation he greatly promoted the work of discovery. He cultivated the friendship of the Isthmian Indians, and from them he

VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON.

heard of the majestic South Sea not far away; also the story of Peru with its limitless treasures of silver and gold.

It was in the hope of reaching the silver halls of the Peruvian Incas, with their golden bowls and cups, that Balboa set out from Darien about the beginning of September, 1513. For more than three weeks he prosecuted an adventurous journey into the interior, ascending with much labor the dividing ranges between the two great oceans. On the 25th of that month, he reached the summit of the divide and obtained his first view of the great Pacific. In three days he made his descent to the southwest. On the 28th, the beach was reached by some of the company. Alonzo Martin, seizing a native's canoe, threw himself into it, pushed from the sand, and shouted to his comrades to mark well that he was the first of Europeans to touch the waters of the South Sea. On the following day, Balboa came in person to the water's edge. Then, in the heroic fashion of the times and after the manner of his race, he waded into the surf, drew his sword, and in the name of the king of Castile took possession of the infinite waters. In the course of four months he returned to Antigua, where he arrived on the 29th of January, 1514.

Discovery of the Pacific

The water discovered by Balboa was the Gulf of San Miguel—so named from the saint on whose day the discovery was made. The enterprise of finding was in this case an enterprise of profit. The Spaniards took back with them to Antigua

all the treasures which they could carry. The natives were friendly, civil, and well-to-do. They gave freely, and consented to pay tribute to the master race.

The Isthmian barrier

Thus at last the open Pacific was reached, but not by a southwest passage or by a northwest passage. It was not even reached by an all-water route in any direction. More than seven years must yet elapse before Magellan could beat his way through the stormy straits. Balboa's discovery was by the land way. The breadth of the isthmus seemed but a span; and yet that span, with its backbone of rugged forest and everlasting granite, baffled civilization for four hundred years, for it was not until 1914 that the Panama Canal established connection between the two oceans, and gave birth to a New Era of Power and Progress.

Character of Balboa

History has crowned the memory of Vasco Nuñez with laurel; not unjustly, for in the crowd of greedy, inhuman, utterly selfish adventurers of that period, he stands out as a knight—generous, humane, affectionate, loyal. Not without some failings, he was worthy a better lot than he won—brief, stormy, and unrewarded, and with a tragic end. In part this was begun by his own lack of judgment; still more by lack of judgment in Ferdinand and Fonseca. Enciso, the head of the relief expedition to San Sebastian, had been deposed by the company, and Balboa chosen in his place. Enciso seems to have resisted, and Balboa put him in confinement, and only released him on condition of his leaving the colony. Of course Enciso

at once returned to Spain, and laid his complaints before the king and the king's adviser Fonseca; he was a lawyer, and Balboa was not there to tell his story.

The next year a great colonizing expedition came out under Pedrarias Davila, perhaps the very worst of all the Spanish officials ever sent to this hemisphere—though that is a high distinction; merciless, jealous, perfidious. Though over seventy at this time, he lived for sixteen years more, one of the most awful scourges that afflicted the new land. He was made governor of New Andalusia. Enciso was chief constable, and at once had Balboa arrested; the main charge being that of murdering Nicuesa, who had in fact been set adrift by mutineers of his own party, incensed by his threats. But the evidence in the colony was strongly on Balboa's side; his discovery of the South Sea—the first news-bearer of which had been lost in shipwreck—had been made known; and warm friends had spoken for him to the king. He was set free, and for a time was not molested further.

Pedrarias

We need not here greatly concern ourselves with the further course of affairs in Central America. To the four hundred and fifty Europeans already at Antigua, Pedrarias when he arrived added about fifteen hundred other colonists. The permanency of the settlement was secured. In a short time a chain of trading posts and settlements was extended from Antigua to the Gulf of San Miguel on the Pacific side.

Antigua heavily colonized

Davila, however, soon provoked the natives to hostility, and the Spaniards were obliged to save themselves by keeping together under arms. In 1515 an exploring expedition was conducted by Gonzalo de Bojados to the Pacific shore, and the Gulf of Parita was discovered. At that place Bojados secured a large amount of gold; but the natives rose against him, and he had to lose his treasure in saving himself by flight. In the course of the following four years, other settlements were made in several places. The town of Acla was founded. Intercourse was established with the Pearl Islands. In 1517, Vasco Nuñez was arrested for treason, and he and four of his friends were put to death. He had won Pedrarias' fierce hatred by complaining of his treatment of the Indians. Two years afterwards, the seat of government was transferred from Antigua to Panama. It was at this time that stragglers made their way to the south far enough to pick up an authentic tradition of the riches of Peru. By this time, Magellan was beating down the eastern coast of South America, and the Pacific was soon to be gained by the water passages of the south.

Settlements in Central America

Panama made the capital

Several years before the events here described, the mainland of North America had been authentically entered and claimed by the Spaniards. The immediate successors of Columbus had made known the greater number and the leading features of the West India islands; but twenty years went by from the date of the great first discovery before the near-by coast of Florida was found,—a curious

fact if Vespucci's expeditions discovered it as claimed.

Among the adventurers who flocked to the standard of Columbus on the departure of his second expedition, in 1493, was a certain Juan Ponce de Leon, a man of Aragon. He was at at that time thirty-two years of age. Ponce participated afterwards in the colonization of Hayti, and in 1508 he made his way to Porto Rico as an adventurer on his own account. Two years afterwards, he was authorized to conquer that island, and was appointed governor. Such was his energy, and such his success, that he was emboldened to apply through his friends at the Spanish court for a commission which was to be based on that of Columbus! He thought that he also should be Admiral and Viceroy of the Indies. No pent-up Porto Rico should contract his powers.

Juan Ponce de Leon

The imagination of Ponce had meanwhile become inflamed with the story of Bimini. Somewhere in or beyond the West Indian seas was the island of Bimini, and in that island there was a fountain of water, and in that fountain if any man should bathe he would never die. It was the fountain of eternal youth. He had reason by this time to desire the rejuvenation promised in Bimini, for he was fifty-two years old and was already weakened, rather by adventure than age.

The fountain of youth

The tradition goes that, for once, Ferdinand the Catholic was amused at the petition of his eager subject. Nevertheless, on February 23, 1512, he gave the commission, and Ponce de Leon

was authorized to discover and settle the island of Bimini. Should he find the promised land, and should no other adventurer have found it first, then Ponce should be governor of the island, and his title should be *adelantado*.

Ponce de Leon's grant

On receiving the grant, Ponce procured a vessel and was about to depart for Spain; but his ship was seized by the European Porto Ricans, who found the influence of the governor necessary for their protection against the natives of the island. Not until the next year did Ponce get his fleet of three caravels ready for the expedition. He sailed from Porto Rico in March, 1513. The vessels were steered first northeast, then by way of Guanahani, and thence in a northwesterly direction until the mainland of Florida came into sight.

The discovery was made on the 27th of March, which was Easter Sunday. Once more the day determined the name of the discovered shores. Easter, in the Spanish tongue, is La Pasqua de las Flores, or sometimes La Pasqua de la Resurrection; that is, the Feast of Flowers, or the Feast of the Resurrection. But the equivalent in Latin, the language of the Church, is *Pascua Florida*. Hence the name of FLORIDA, the Flower Land, which Ponce gave to the southeastern peninsula of our present United States.

Discovery of Florida

For six days after the discovery, De Leon coasted along the shore, above which rose the line of mossy green woods and trailing vines. On the 2d of April, he anchored off North Beach, near St. Augustine, just above the thirtieth parallel.

Here a landing was effected, and on the 8th of the month he took possession in the name of the king of Spain. The cavalier made his way by short distances into the interior, and began a search for the fountain of youth. Hardly could his vision be satisfied with the beautiful forests, the smooth seacoast, and the blue sky. His heart was with his youth, and that was far away.

Search for the magic fountain

From the place of his first landing Ponce turned to the south, bearing at times along the shore line and then veering away to the Bahamas. About the twenty-fifth parallel he made another landing, and again sought the magical fountain. He and his followers are credited with drinking of every spring and bathing in every stream and pool. Though the new land was salubrious and the waters refreshing, youth did not return, but only weariness.

On leaving the coast at Abayoa, Ponce's vessels got into the swift whirl of the Gulf Stream, and one of them was borne away out of sight. The Indians, at first friendly, became suspicious and then hostile. The Spaniards were obliged to repel their attacks. On the 8th of May, Ponce doubled Cape Corrientes. Then he found and named the Martyr Islands. Next he discovered the Tortugas; and then, doubling the Cape at the southern end of the peninsula, he coasted northward and westward as far as that bay to which the name of Juan Ponce has been given.

Ponce circumnavigates Florida

Whether the cavalier completed the circumnavigation of Florida, and turned to the west, is

not known. He thought the country an island, and hoped that it might be Bimini. But he attempted the Bahamas, and sought among them to discover the youth-restoring fountain. At length his enthusiasm flagged a little, and his hopes began to fade. If he did not become younger, however, he became more ambitious. He sought an early opportunity to report to the king, his master; and so, leaving the Bahamas and Florida behind, he sailed for Spain. There at court his old friend, Nuñez de Guzman, who was in high favor, gained for Ponce an audience with Ferdinand, who was now nearing the end of his life.

Ponce explores the Bahamas

To the king the discoverer was able to give an enthusiastic account of the new lands which he had found in the west, including the "Island Florida." He represented to his Majesty that the new country ought to be conquered and colonized. The king heard him gladly, and granted his prayer for a new patent, which was given to him under date of September 27, 1514. By this instrument, he was appointed governor of "the Island of *Brimini*[1] and the Island of Florida." He was directed to conquer and colonize the country within three years from the date of his commission—afterwards, within three years from the date of his sailing for the new country.

His patent for Florida

Ponce was to operate from Porto Rico as a basis. He was to subdue the Caribs. He was to establish a settlement in Florida, and bring the natives into submission. These races should

[1] So spelled by the king's minister.

acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of Spain, and be converted to the Roman Catholic faith. The expenses of the enterprise were to be borne by the West Indian treasury of the kingdom. Diego Columbus, who had succeeded his father as Viceroy, was directed to supply the means for the prosecution of Juan Ponce's enterprise.

Ponce to colonize Florida

All this was easily undertaken on paper; but it was executed with great difficulty. The Caribbean cannibals refused to be overcome. First one thing and then another distracted the attention of Ponce, the idealist and dreamer. In the mean time other adventurers set out, with no authority, and voyaged to the coast of Florida. Thus did Diego Miruelo, who passed over from Cuba to the mainland in 1516. He it was who coasted the peninsula on the west as far as the Bay of Pensacola. Thus also did Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, who made a voyage to Florida in 1517. His business was to capture a cargo of Indians to be sold as slaves. The nefarious scheme was defeated, partly by tropical storms and partly by the fury of the Indians. Thus in 1519 did Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, who sent out four ships to the Land of Flowers, with directions to seek for an all-water passage by way of that coast to the Pacific. Thus did several other adventurers, commissioned or uncommissioned, most of whom were impelled by the lust of gold, reinforced by that eagerness with which all daring spirits seek out the mysteries of unknown places.

Florida the centre of adventure

Some of these adventurers attacked the Indians, who assailed them in turn until they went away. More than six years elapsed from the date of Ponce's patent before he was able to set out for the occupation of his great "island." By this time, the fabled fountain of Bimini had melted into nothingness. The eager visions of the old adventurer were obscured by the oncoming darkness. His thoughts changed to other things. At last, in 1521, when he set out to Florida, he did so as a matter of duty rather than of desire.

Ponce gives up hope of youth

Just before leaving Porto Rico for the new land, Ponce wrote to Charles V., who had now succeeded to the empire established by his grandfather, and summed up his services and his hopes. Under date of February 10, 1521, the cavalier governor, now sixty-one, said to his sovereign:

"Among my services I discovered, at my own cost and charge, the Island Florida and others in its district, which are now mentioned as being small and useless; and now I return to that island, if it please God's will, to settle it, being enabled to carry a number of people with which I shall be able to do so, that the name of Christ may be praised there, and your Majesty served with the fruit that land produces. And I also intend to explore the coast of said island further, and see whether it is an island, or whether it connects with the land where Diego Velasquez is, or any other; and I shall endeavor to learn all I can. I shall set out to pursue my voyage hence in five or six days."

Wishes to know about Florida

On the whole, the search for the fountain of youth had proved to be an unprofitable undertaking. Fame had wreathed the forehead of folly, but riches had not rewarded rashness. De Leon was disposed to lament the loss of his earthly treasure and the consumption of his life in the royal service; but he went forward bearing the usual means of subjugation and progress. He took with him ammunition and tracts, cross-bows and priests, cattle and cutlery, muskets and missionaries.

De Leon tries to colonize Florida

After an absence of about eight years from his "island," Ponce reached the coast of Florida, landed with his colonial resources, and began to construct buildings suitable for a settlement. The Indians had not forgotten the indignities which the Spaniards had heaped upon them. They rose against the immigrants as against invaders, and made a daring attack. The Spanish men-at-arms, led by Juan Ponce, faced the assailants and drove them back, but the governor was seriously wounded with a poisoned arrow. He could not recover from the injury. Many of his followers fell sick of malarial diseases. As soon as he could, the governor had himself removed to shipboard and conveyed back to Cuba. The poisoned wound could not be healed, and there Ponce de Leon died, trying to comfort himself in his last hours with the reflection that he had attained an "eloquent, just, and mightie death."

Like De Leon, Hernandez de Cordova was wounded in his engagement with the Indians on the Florida coast, and was taken back to Cuba,

where he died of his injuries. The Spaniards treated the natives in a manner to violate their innate sense of justice and humanity, and the natives repelled as well as they might the injuries heaped upon them.

Notwithstanding the fate of Ponce and Cordova, other leaders and adventurers rose in their stead and took up their projects. New expeditions were planned and new colonial schemes were projected. One of these, under the patronage of De Garay, governor of Jamaica, was sent out in 1519. The command of the fleet was given to Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda, who conducted the voyage to the Florida coast at a place within the limits assigned to Ponce de Leon. Pineda made his way westward around the gulf to the river Panuco, where he found himself in contact with Cortes, who had at that time undertaken the conquest of Mexico.

Pineda's voyage

It cannot be doubted that the greater part of the Gulf Coast was traced by Pineda, who on his return from the west passed the delta of the Mississippi. He noted there the tremendous volume of fresh water issuing from the interior, which Vespucci is supposed to have passed without seeing. He even ascended one of the channels for a considerable distance, finding the low green shores to be dotted here and there with Indian villages and towns. Pineda returned to Jamaica, where he recited things seen and things unseen in the new countries. He had, according to his report, beheld races of giants and other races of pigmies.

Discovery of the Mississippi

He had found the gold so abundant that it could not be measured; the natives wore great bands of it as ornaments hanging in their ears and noses. It was the misfortune of the age of discovery that every returning adventurer might evolve a story of his deeds according to the vigor of his imagination. He might employ fiction or fact at his pleasure. This method was practiced until the patrons of the various enterprises, and indeed the whole world, could not distinguish fact from fancy in the marvels that were told by the home-coming heroes. How should a Spanish adventurer be confuted in his fictions? No one was with him to deny the miracles.

Romancing of adventurers

Meanwhile, Diego Velasquez, governor of Cuba and patron of Hernandez de Cordova, obtained a charter from the king which became the basis of those movements resulting in the conquest of Mexico. Velasquez was himself an adventurer from Hayti. In his office of governor he sent out several expeditions into the Gulf of Mexico, especially to the southern borders of that broad water. One or two of his ships visited Cuba; but the great thing accomplished was the discovery of a way by which Cortes might presently march. It became the duty of Velasquez to determine how far the claims of Ponce de Leon extended westward, and how far those of Pineda extended eastward around the Gulf. The name Florida belonged to the former territory, and the name Amichel was given to the latter, extending perhaps from Pensacola to Panuco.

Diego Velasquez

Garay and Grijalva

After some years of preparation—namely, in 1523—Francisco de Garay, already mentioned, made an effort in person to colonize Amichel. One of the largest fleets of the time was fitted out in Jamaica, and Garay sailed for the west. His principal captain was Juan de Grijalva, who had previously distinguished himself as the discoverer of Yucatan. The squadron of thirteen vessels was well equipped and abundantly supplied. The armament included cannon. The contingent of cavalry and infantry numbered one thousand men. On the 25th of July the expedition reached the River of Palms. There a settlement was begun; but the region was not favorable, and the voyage was continued southward to Panuco. Here De Garay came into the region conquered and held by Cortes. He was forced to yield to the power of the conqueror, but he was permitted to begin the planting of a colony on the Rio de las Palmas. He died in the country, and the name of his province Amichel was dropped from the charts of discovery.

Vasquez de Ayllon

It was the peculiarity of this epoch that many expeditions coincident in time were made by the West Indian Spaniards to the countries around our Gulf. In 1520, while Cortes was contending with the Mexicans on the one hand and his own countrymen under Narvaez on the other; while Magellan was making his way far down the coast of South America, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, one of the Spanish officers of Santo Domingo, wealthy and powerful and ambitious, sent out at his own

expense a ship under command of Francisco Cordillo, on a voyage to the western islands, with a view to catching Caribs for the slave market. *En route,* Cordillo fell in with another Spanish vessel, and the two together made for the coast of Florida. They traced the shores northward until they found a river to which they gave the name of St. John the Baptist, now the St. John's. This was considerably to the north of the highest point attained by Ponce de Leon.

Discovery of the St. John's

Entering the estuary of the St. John's, the Spaniards opened friendly intercourse with the natives, of whom they presently seized and carried away seventy, thus making a breach which could never be healed. The captains of the ships found the Indians an easier game than the Caribs, but the kidnappers were requited in after years. Returning to Santo Domingo, they were able to deliver their slaves to De Ayllon, but the latter refused to approve the conduct of his subordinates. The Indians were set free, and the Spanish Council of the island declared that they should be restored to their country and countrymen. De Ayllon reported the event in person to the king of Spain, from whom he received a commission to prosecute his discoveries on the American coast. In doing so, he should take with him priests to convert rather than enslave the natives.

It was some time, however, before De Ayllon was able to conduct a squadron of four vessels, carrying six hundred persons, on a voyage to Florida. Steering for the river St. John's, this

Ayllon sails for Florida

fleet reached the coast further north, where another river was found, and this was named the Jordan. But the place did not seem attractive, and De Ayllon sailed up and down the coast, trying to find a channel through which he might make his way across the continent to the South Sea and the Moluccas.

In this enterprise he coasted northward as far as the country of the wide-open Chesapeake. He entered the broad waters, and is said to have explored the river Guandape, afterwards called the James. The tradition runs that he began a settlement which he called San Miguel, on the very site which, eighty years later, was occupied by the builders of Jamestown! Here at that time was an Indian village. Some of the houses, especially the "long" or communal houses, were built with considerable skill. The country was beautiful, but the inchoate colony was overtaken with successive disasters. A winter more severe than the Spaniards had ever known came upon them, and some of the colonists were frozen to death. De Ayllon himself took the malarial fever, and died on the 18th of October, 1526.

Ayllon on the Chesapeake and James

Death of Ayllon

It were long to trace out the details of the many unsuccessful attempts made in the sixteenth century to colonize our American shores. Of these enterprises the Spanards had their share. Most of the attempted settlements faded away and left no vestige. Thus did the colony of De Ayllon at San Miguel, Virginia. Nearly all of the settlers perished. Part of those whom the snows

Colony of San Miguel

and the fatal diseases omitted got away on a tender, and attempted to make their way back to Santo Domingo. They put the body of De Ayllon on board, set sail, and bore away. But the vessel was wrecked, and the leader's body found its final rest in the ooze of the ocean.

Before his death, De Ayllon bequeathed his rights in America to his nephew Juan Ramirez, of Porto Rico. On the American shore the management of the remnant of settlers was intrusted to a certain Francisco Gomez. Then followed hardships, insurrection, Indian hostilities, conspiracy of the slaves, and incendiary fires, until the settlement of San Miguel was finally abandoned.

Spanish Virginia a failure

And here for the moment we must leave the Spanish discoverers, to follow the fortunes of the Portuguese and the English. The further progress of Spanish exploration is so inextricably intertwined with that of its colonization and government, that we have preferred to treat it as a part of the history of settlement rather than of pure discovery. It is true, much of what we have already told has been almost as much the one as the other. The two went hand in hand. Columbus planted one vital settlement, Ojeda planted another, Ponce de Leon did his best to plant one. The line of division must seem more or less arbitrary.

Exploration and colonization

Nevertheless, one must be drawn; and we have drawn it between those where the motive of discovery seems the predominant one, and those where

the motive of colonization or conquest seems such. Columbus, Ojeda, Balboa, Ponce de Leon at first, Vasquez de Ayllon, were primarily intent upon finding where and what new coasts and islands and regions and passages to the Indies were, before undertaking to do anything with them. Hernando Cortes, Panfilo de Narvaez, Hernando de Soto, were all seeking to found colonies in, or to obtain rule over, regions of whose location and general character they *supposed* themselves aware, tremendously and in most cases fatally as they were mistaken. With the next volume we shall open the drama, mostly the tragedy, of their efforts.

CHAPTER XI.

DA GAMA, MAGELLAN, AND THE CABOTS

The epoch of discovery was lighted up with a peculiar radiance by two unprecedented events, which, though distant the one from the other by a period of twenty years, were nevertheless almost identical in character. These two events were the circumnavigation of Africa and the finding of India by Vasco da Gama, and the circumnavigation of the globe by Fernando de Magallanes.[1] Though the first of these great adventures may have but a remote relation to the initial passages in the history of the United States, it is nevertheless *res gesta* of the marvelous processes by which European civilization was planted on our shores.

The great circumnavigation

Vasco da Gama was a native of Sines, in the province of Alemtejo, Portugal. He was born about the year 1469. His death, which occurred in Cochin China on the day before Christmas, 1524, ended one of the most remarkable careers of a remarkable age. It may be freely granted that the epic poem called *Os Lusiadas,* in which

[1] The name in Portuguese is Fernão de Magalhaes; in English Ferdinand Magellan. The best English pronunciation would be mag-el-lan; next, though the soft *g* is objectionable, the somewhat used maj-el-lan; worst of all, and wholly unfit, is the common ma-jel-lan.

Da Gama and Camoens

the fame of Da Gama was embalmed by the illustrious Portuguese poet, Luiz de Camoens, has heightened the well-earned reputation of the navigator; yet not *The Lusiad,* but the fact itself, has made Da Gama immortal among the captains of the seas. To him Portugal stands indebted in large measure for the rank she long bore among the maritime and commercial powers of Europe, and for centuries has borne in history.

As far as example and precedent were concerned, Da Gama owed his success to that Prince Henry of Portugal whose surname of "The Navigator" was so well earned by his deeds. In Da Gama's boyhood, the fame of Prince Henry was still recent. The story of the great work which the latter had accomplished by his expedition in 1433, when it discovered the Madeiras, the Azores, and the Senegal, and rounded Cape Bojador, was the half-romantic and half-historical wonder-tale with which the imagination of the Portuguese youth was inflamed, in the last years of the century. During Da Gama's boyhood, two expeditions, one by land and the other by sea, were sent out to enlarge the boundaries of discovery. The sea expedition was successful on the west coast of Africa. One of the travelers by land returned not; and only a message from the other on the Malabar coast was received, saying that it was possible to sail around Africa and reach the Indies. It was in this interval also, namely 1486-7, that Bartholomew Diaz, in command of two small vessels, passed Cape Negro and made his way

Portuguese voyages before Da Gama

VASCO DA GAMA.

LUIZ DE CAMOENS.

down the African coast as far as the Cape of Storms.

About two years after the death of King John and the accession of Emmanuel, a new fleet of discovery was fitted out, and of this the command was given to Da Gama. By his commission he was directed to discover an all-water route to the Indies by seeking a *southeastern* passage. One of the ships was to be commanded by Bartholomew Diaz. On the 8th of July, 1497, the fleet of four vessels left Lisbon, and a successful voyage was made down the coast as far as the Cape of Storms; whose appalling name had given place, after the first voyage of Diaz, to the auspicious name of Good Hope.[1]

Da Gama sails for the Indies

Da Gama first anchored in St. Helena Bay, and then successfully rounded the Cape. This

[1] The storms which Da Gama had to face are dwelt upon by Camoens in the *Lusiad*. The poet describes the rage of the elements, and touches upon the buffetings of certain ships and the trials of their captains:

The winds were such that scarcely could they show
With greater force or greater rage around
Than if it were their purpose, then, to blow
The mighty tower of Babel to the ground.
Upon the aspiring seas, which higher grow,
Like a small boat the valiant ship doth bound;
Exciting wonder that on such a main
She can her striving course so long sustain.

The valiant ship, with Gama's brother Paul,
With mast asunder snapped by wind and wave,
Half under water lies; the sailors call
On Him who once appeared the world to save;
Nor less, vain cries from Coelho's vessel all
Pour on the air, fearing a watery grave,
Although the master had such caution shown
That ere the wind arose the sails were down.

he accomplished on the 22d of November. He then found himself in the unknown waters of the Indian Ocean. Sailing to the northeast, he passed Madagascar without making the discovery; but, pressing bravely on, he reached Calicut, in the present British district of Malabar, in May of 1498. Ten months and two days had elapsed since his departure from Lisbon. Calicut was already a flourishing East-Indian city. There stood the great Brahmanical temple which Da Gama thought equal to the finest monastery in Portugal. The governor, or zamorin, looked at first with favor on the new-comers; but he was incited against them by the Moorish traders, whose profession seemed to be endangered by the presence of European sailors.

Da Gama reaches India

Having satisfied himself of the wealth and variety of interests in Western India, the navigator turned his prows to the ocean again, and after a safe voyage arrived at Lisbon in September of the following year. By his great success he had demonstrated the comparatively easy circumnavigation of Africa, the facile transnavigation of the Indian Ocean, and the veritable opulence of the East. He had planted the first germs of a future Portuguese empire in that far region—an empire destined to surpass for an age the glory of the European Portugal, as much as Brazil was destined to surpass the mother country in the West. The manifest corollary of the expedition was the certain practicability of circumnavigating the globe by eastern sailing.

Safe return to Portugal

D. MANOEL I,
14.º REI DE PORTUGAL.

It thus came to pass that the year 1498 exceeded all the other crises of human history in the supreme matter of discovery. The three great events of that year were the arrival of Da Gama on the coast of Madras, about the middle of May; the tracing of the North American coast during the summer months by John Cabot, and the consequent establishment of an English claim to the great central belt of North America; and the landing of Columbus in the first days of August on the mainland of South America. Truly the New World in the West and the Old World in the East were in the act of swift revelation.

Da Gama, Cabot, and Columbus

In a short time after Da Gama's return, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, whose voyage to the coast of Brazil we have already described, was commissioned to conduct a fleet of thirteen ships, bearing colonists and supplies, to India. The voyage outward was made, but not without loss. Arriving at Calicut, the natives rose against the intruders, and all whom Cabral left behind as colonists were murdered. When this tragedy was known in Lisbon, a third fleet of ten vessels was equipped, and the command given to Da Gama, who was in hot blood to avenge the outrage done to his country. "Sire," said he, addressing the king, "the ruler of Calicut arrested *me* and treated me with contumely; and because I did not return to avenge myself of that injury, he has now committed a greater crime, on which account I feel in my heart a strong desire and inclination to go thither and make a great havoc of him."

Cabral's colonists murdered

Da Gama's vengeance in India

Accordingly, in the early part of 1502, Da Gama sailed from Lisbon, reached Calicut, and bombarded the town. There is an appalling tradition of the inhuman and savage things which he did to the offending natives. Thus in blood the Portuguese dominion began to be established on the western borders of India. Then, in November, Da Gama proceeded to Cochin, China, taking his "havoc" with him. It is said that he destroyed all the vessels which he found afloat. In this manner he forcibly compelled the opening of Oriental trade with the home kingdom. In September 1503 he returned to Lisbon, bringing shiploads of the rich, rare treasures of the East. Da Gama was made Admiral of the kingdom, and was honored in many ways until the date of his death. He lived to learn of the progress and final achievement of his great rival, who, turning to the southern point of South America as he himself had rounded the extremity of Africa, made thence his way across the broad Pacific, to be slain on the Islas Filipinas in 1520.

Ferdinand Magellan

Ferdinand Magellan was a native of Sabrosa, Portugal. He was born probably in 1480. He was thus only a youth of twelve at the date of the discovery of the West Indies by Columbus. In his teens he became a navigator and adventurer, and when he was twenty-five he accompanied Almeida's expedition to India. He was occupied in the East for seven years under the great Albuquerque, and in Malacca saved the entire fleet from treacherous destructions by the Malays.

FERNANDO MAGALHAENS OR MAGELLAN.

Here he knitted a firm friendship with another captain, Francisco Serrano, who remained there many years. Then in 1514 he made an expedition to Morocco.

Failing of honor and preferment at the hands of his king, he renounced his allegiance to Portugal, and in October 1517 went to Seville to seek Spanish service. There he married the daughter of the alcaide of the arsenal, was taken to court, and promised the boy emperor Charles V. to find a southwestern passage to the Moluccas. He had a faith like unto that of Columbus, that he should reach the Indies by westward sailing, and that he should find a passage through or around the new continent to attain them. Among other reasons for the attempt, was the cherished hope of rejoining his dearest friend Serrano by this means, since he could not do it in the service of his own country. Charles extended his patronage; and Magellan undertook a voyage of discovery which proved to be, after that of Columbus, the most daring of all the enterprises of the age.

Magellan takes Spanish service

The squadron was constituted of five small ships of seventy-five to one hundred and ten tons each, scarcely seaworthy, and about two hundred and eighty mariners of nearly every nation in Europe and some outside it. The expedition was long in preparing. It departed from San Lucar only on the 10th of August, 1519, and even so it was nearly six weeks (the 20th of September) before the Guadalquivir was cleared by the last

Departs on his voyage

vessel. The voyage across the Atlantic had the common fortune of several weeks of alternate storms and dead calm, and consequent shortage of food. These formed pretexts, though hardly reasons, for a mutiny which had been concerted before the expedition started at all. Three of the four captains besides Magellan, and a considerable part of the sailors, were hired traitors, bribed by King Emmanuel or his ministers to wreck the entire plan.

Premeditated treachery

Nothing is more abhorrent to right feeling than the conduct of these Portuguese sovereigns, one after another. They would not treat fairly the great men who sought to benefit Portugal; they would not risk money or men to carry out their propositions: but when they had thus forced the navigators to resort to other countries, they bent all their energies to ruining the efforts of the latter. It is said that assassins were hired to murder Magellan if it could be done secretly. It is certain that the Portuguese captains in the East Indies, including Serrano whose life had been saved by Magellan, were ordered to seize and imprison him if he reached there. And as we have said, the very members and leaders of the expedition were largely traitors. Only one captain was true—Juan Serrano, cousin of Francisco. One of the others, Juan de Cartagena, attempted mutiny before reaching the other side of the Atlantic; but the rest were not ripe, and Magellan seized him and put him in irons, giving the command of his ship to Magellan's cousin. The mutineer was

Attempts to wreck the expedition

given in charge of another captain, who unfortunately was one of the traitors himself.

Magellan reached the bay of Rio de Janeiro on the 13th of December. After a brief stay he proceeded down the coast to the mouth of the Rio de La Plata, which he ascended and explored for three weeks during the succeeding January and February, to see if it were the looked-for southwest passage. Assured that it was not, the voyage was resumed, and after a violently stormy passage reached on March 31st a sheltered harbor on the coast of Patagonia, at about 50° south latitude. There was good fishing here; and Magellan resolved to lie up here for the winter (northern summer) of 1520, the cold being too intense to proceed. He called the place Port San Julian.

Magellan explores the La Plata

The next day was Easter Sunday, and the night was chosen for the grand mutiny, whose suddenness and thoroughness shows that it had been matured long before. The treacherous captains and crews, it is true, were quite as much cowards as traitors: they feared that they should never escape from the bleak region into which they had come. The furious storms, the fierce cold, the diminishing food, and no strait in sight, combined with their ramshackle vessels, would indeed have formed some excuse for them, but for the fact that they had cut themselves off from this defense by planning the revolt before they had given the quest a fair trial. They spread the report that Magellan was secretly a Portuguese emissary,

The mutiny breaks out

hired to lead a Spanish expedition to ruin; and mastered three of the vessels, setting Cartagena at liberty. Mendoza and Quesada were the other revolting captains.

Magellan demanded a conference with the rebels, which fell through because neither party would trust themselves in the others' power; then he sent a trusty officer (Espinosa) and five men aboard Mendoza's ship to parley, with his brother-in-law Barbosa and fifteen others in a boat just behind. The first small party was admitted on board without suspicion; Espinosa read a summons to surrender, and on Mendoza's refusal leapt on him and plunged a dagger in his throat, while one of the five companions struck him dead with a sword. Before the dazed mutineers recovered resolution after this audacious blow, Barbosa and his party were on board. They had swiftly shot their boat up to the ship's side as soon as their predecessors had engaged the attention of the rebels, swung themselves over the bulwarks, and demanded instant surrender on pain of death. It was received without resistance; and Magellan, now with three ships against two, forced the others to surrender also, quelling the entire revolt within twenty-four hours of its inception. Quesada was tried for mutiny and beheaded, and his body quartered, as was that of Mendoza; Cartagena and a priest who had shared in both his first and second mutinies were ironed and set ashore to shift for themselves when the fleet sailed away; the rest were pardoned.

Magellan quells the revolt

For nearly five months the fleet remained at anchor while an acquaintance was made with the gigantic inhabitants of Patagonia. Their stature, however, does not seem to have daunted or much impressed the Portuguese. Magellan took possession of Patagonia in the name of Charles V., and on the 24th of August (that is, the beginning of spring) the voyage was continued to the south.

Exploration of Patagonia

There were rough seas and slow navigation; but on the 21st of October Magellan sighted the entrance to that famous channel with which the name of the discoverer will ever be associated, but upon which he himself bestowed the title of the Strait of the Eleven Thousand Virgins.[1] It was

Strait of Magellan found

[1] The probabilities are against Magellan's being the first discoverer of the strait. His fellow-voyager Pigafetta says Magellan had seen it marked on a chart in the treasury of King Emmanuel of Portugal. A German work issued before 1515, probably translated from the Portuguese, says that a Portuguese expedition, fitted out by gentlemen including Cristoval de Haro, had discovered a strait through "Brazil" from east to west; and Ruysch's world-map of 1507 states that the Portuguese had then reached 50° south (the strait is 52–3°). De Haro was later chief stockholder in Magellan's enterprise, and most likely was ready to invest because he felt sure it was no fool's-errand. Martin Schöner, professor of mathematics at Nuremberg, accepted this work as authoritative, and in 1515 and 1520 prepared globes showing the strait. Also, Magellan's commission is "to search for the strait," which, like Bishop Eric's search for Vinland, rather implies something known to exist but not quite certainly where. On the other hand, no one else seems to have heard of Emmanuel's chart, and Magellan, out of favor with the court, would hardly have been the one man thus graced; and the fact is inconsistent with Emmanuel's conviction, when the patriotic Magellan promised not to seek the Moluccas by the pre-empted Portuguese route of the Cape, that he could reach them in no other way. And Magellan did not make for the strait, nor for 50° south; he groped down the coast, and had resolved to go as far as 75° rather than give it up. Lastly, the historians of the age attribute the discovery to him. It seems most probable that the strait had been penetrated, but the discovery not generally credited. Of course this does

by no means an inviting passage, even though it seemed to promise an exit to the Indies. But he boldly entered the mouth, and leaving the land of fire on the left and the continent on the right, made his way, after five weeks of perilous voyaging, into the open waters of the Pacific. But one of his ships was gone. Though treachery had been put down, fear had not. The *San Antonio,* which he had consigned to his cousin's command, was already making her return voyage across the Atlantic. Magellan did not dream of such desertion; and left a signal for it on the headland at the Pacific mouth of the strait, which he named Cape Desiderata. The officers of the *San Antonio,* on their part, after reaching Spain, disseminated all manner of falsehoods and slanders about Magellan and his expedition.

Magellan passes the Strait

The sailors shrank from the dread expanse before them, and would have turned back. They had made sure of the southwest passage, and was not that enough? Food was scant, they were not sure of touching islands where they could find more, and it was courting death. The iron commander grimly said they should go forward if they had to eat the hides off the rigging (wrapped about to keep it from chafing). He had set out for the Indies, and to the Indies or death (it was both) he was going.

His determination

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not in the least affect Magellan's claim to remembrance. His glory does not rest on discovering a new hole in a continent, but on the daring with which he risked himself on so mighty a conception as circumnavigating the globe, and the tremendous power and tenacity with which he accomplished it.

CHINA
JAPAN ISLANDS
Loo-choo Group
Canton
Formosa
Luzon
PHILIPPINE ISLES
Palawan
Cagayan
Celebes Sea
Molucca Is
Gilolo
Borneo
Celebes
Bouro
Amboina
Flores
Timor
Feb 13th 1522
Arzobispo or Bonin Is
Volcano Is
Marcus Is
Camira
Columas Is
Tropic of Cancer
Lamira
Wake Rk
Maurelle
Bunker I.
Maro Rk
Gardner I.
Wilson I
Johnston I.
Ladrone Is
Guam
March 1st
March 6th
Mackenzie Rf
Pelew Is
Farraulep Is
Babelthuap
Swede Is
Wilson Is
Mortlock Is
Senuarina Is
Caroline Isles
Ualan
Greenwich Is
Admiralty Is
New Ireland
New Britain
Solomon Is
Isabel I.
Malayta I
Louisiade Archip
Jesus I
Ellice Is
Santa Cruz Is
Marshall Is
Ralick Chain
Ralick Chain
Feb 23rd
Barber I.
Gilbert Is
Hurd I.
Byron
Phœnix Is
Palmyra I.
New York I.
Fanning
Christ
Feb 15th
Jarvis
Solitary I
Danger I
Reirson
Savaii
Samoa or Navigator Is
Suwarrow
Opolu
Fiji Is
Vanua Levu
Viti Levu
Kadavu
Savage I.
Friendly Is
Cook Is
Rarotonga
Mangaia
Tongatabu
New Hebrides
Espiritu Santo
Erromango
New Caledonia
Loyalty Is
Norfolk I.
Lord Howe I.
Kermadec Is
Maria Theresa Rf
NEW ZEALAND
Tasmania
Chatham Is
Antipodes I.
Auckland I
Campbell I.
Macquarie I.
Emerald I

150
140
130
120
110
100
90
80
70
N O R T H
A M E R I C A
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
West India Islands
Cooper I.
Copper I.
New I.
Shalers I.
Revillagigedo I.
Socorro I.
Passion R.R I.
Clipperton I.
Cocos I.
Walker I.
Gallego I.
Albemarle I.
Galapagos I.
Equator
C I F I C
Marquesas I.
Tiburones
Feb 4th
S. Pablo
Jan. 24th
Paumota I.
Tahiti
Jan. 13th
Waihou
Jan. 6th
Actæon Gr.
Elizabeth I.
Pitcairn I.
Ducie I.
Easter I.
Salli y Gomez
St Feux I.
St Ambrose I.
Opara I.
Mas a fuera I.
Juan Fernandez I.
E A N
Chiloe I.
Chonos Archip.
Wellington
Strait of Magellan
Strait of Magellan
Hoste I.
Diego Ramirez
Staten
Horn
CHART OF THE
ACIFIC OCEAN
Showing the track of
AGELLAN'S SHIPS
in the Years 1519 - 22

He sailed into the deep waters, and set his prows to the north to find a balmier climate for voyaging. The journey before him extended to more than ten thousand miles, in the course of which he found only two small points of barren, uninhabited land, unworthy to be called islands. These the sailors named San Pablo (St. Paul) and Islas de los Tiburones (Shark Islands). Yet he was sailing through the entire breadth of Oceanica with its hundred thousand islands: how could he have failed to strike some one of its habitable and food-producing groups in his enormous voyage? It seems incredible; but a glance at his course will show the reason. By ill fortune he had taken a course just north of almost the entire island contents of the Pacific, of which our Hawaiian Islands are the last Northern outlier.

Across the Pacific

The sufferings on this mighty voyage were horrible; they do not justify the mutineers who joined the expedition only to wreck its plan, but they justify the fears of the weak. Their water was putrid jelly. Their food was scant rations of worm-riddled scraps of hard-tack, soaked with the discharges of rats; and in dreadful earnest what the commander had spoken, the hides from the rigging, trailed for several days in the sea to soften them enough to gnaw, and then broiled on the embers. Foul with scurvy, their gums grew over their teeth; seven men died a miserable death, and many more were too feeble to aid in working the ship or even move about. The one piece of good fortune that saved the expedition

Horrible sufferings

was the absence of storms, the ocean making good its name of Pacific.

Magellan reaches Guam

At last, on March 6, 1521, the navigator reached a land which was inhabited. The first anchorage was at the island of Guam, now one of the Asiatic possessions of the United States. The inhabitants came out in their catamarans to visit the wonderful ships, surrounding them and swarming over the sides. The multitudes could not be kept off; according to the white men, they were as thievish as monkeys. We have not the natives' opinion of the motley ships' crews. The natives, so we are told, not only stole all the movables they saw, but cut the ropes of the flagship's boat and carried it off to their island. Magellan was obliged to hoist anchor and remain that night out of reach; the next day he invaded the island to reclaim his boat, set fire to several huts, and killed seven or eight of the natives. It was an unfortunate beginning of acquaintance, whosesoever was the fault. The Spaniards called the group Islas de los Ladrones, or Robbers' Islands.

Samar and Suluan

The voyage was renewed to the west through about three hundred leagues of ocean. On the 16th of March the island of Zamal (now called Samar, one of the easternmost of the Philippines) was sighted. But the waters here were too full of shoals, and he went on to Suluan, a small but conspicuous island, and to Mactan. Here he remained awhile to rest and restore his sick; and by virtue of good and plentiful food, and fresh

vegetables, the crews were soon in very fair condition, so tough and hardy were the men of the seas in those times.

As for discovery, Magellan found himself in the midst of a great archipelago, to which he gave the name of St. Lazarus. One island rose beyond another. The cluster seemed to be of endless extent. Nor will the reader fail to remember the fact that hardly to this day have the number and character of this group of thirteen or fourteen hundred islands been exactly ascertained, though they have become a part of our great Republic. In course of time the name of St. Lazarus was supplanted in favor of Philip of Spain, and henceforth the most interesting archipelago of the tropical Pacific received the name of Islas Filipinas. The mass of the Portuguese, however, at this time called them the Eastern Islands, the Spanish the Sunset or Western Islands; each name representing the path by which the respective nations had come to them, the Portuguese by sailing eastward around Africa, the Spaniards by sailing westward around South America. Thus too it happened that until 1844, the same day was called Sunday at Hong Kong in China, and Monday at Manila in the Philippines, owing to the gain or loss of a day according to which route sailors took around the world.

Through the Philippines

Confusion of the calendar

It was the good fortune of Magellan to secure a learned Malay for an interpreter, and in this way easy communication was opened with the natives. The first object in Magellan's mind—

dearer even than friendship, glory, or discovery —was the extension of the Christian religion. We do injustice to the semi-piratical navigators of those times if we forget that they were sincere and even fanatical Christians, and held the glory of Christ and the good of His Church always next to their own advancement. Magellan set forth the truth and the temporal advantages of the Christian faith so convincingly that the king of Cebu, a powerful potentate struggling to reduce under his sway a mass of unruly chiefs in the islands around, decided to embrace it. On the 7th of April a treaty of peace and amity, of blood brotherhood and of exclusive rights of trade for Spain in the Cebu dominions, was signed; and the king with thousands of his subjects was baptized a Christian—a baptism soon to be recanted in blood, but the beginning of the tie which was to bind the barbarians to the ecclesiastical system of Europe.

Magellan as a missionary

This act carried with it, in Magellan's mind, the obligation to support the Christian potentate against his rebellious subjects, as he deemed the neighbor chieftains who wished to preserve their independence. The chief of the island of Mactan near by was the greatest of these. He would have none of the Christians' religion or the Cebuan chief's suzerainty. Magellan undertook an expedition to subdue this double rebel, against Christ and against his Christian ally. On the 27th of April a battle was fought. The king of Cebu wished to take part with his thousand warriors,

Upholds his Christian ally

used to the Philippine fighting among jungle thickets and ambushes; but Magellan would not permit it. He and some seventy white men in armor would chastise the rebels alone. The result was fatal. The swarming savages fought like Red Indians, behind trees and their bush-embowered huts. Magellan was slain while protecting like a hero the retreat of the forces he had sacrificed like a madman; some two dozen of his men lost their lives with him. The king of Cebu was convinced that the power of the Christian God had been overrated, and shortly afterward assailed the remnant of his "benefactors," who had chosen Serrano and Barbosa for their captains. These two and twenty-five more were killed.

Magellan's last fight

The relics of the expedition went their way. One of the three remaining ships, the *Concepcion,* became entirely unseaworthy, and had to be burned to prevent its capture by the natives. The dastardly scoundrel Carvalho, who had left Serrano and his companions to their death, was made commander of the expedition, whose flag-ship was now the *Trinidad;* but proving as incompetent as he was base, was supplanted by Espinosa, who had been in command of the *Victoria,* and was succeeded there by Sebastian del Cano or Elcano. Only one hundred and fifteen were left of the two hundred and eighty men with which the fleet had started. These with the two ships proceeded to Borneo; thence, after a short stay, to Magellan's original destination, the Moluccas, to find

Magellan's successors

Francisco Serrano. But that gallant officer had been murdered by a native chief not far from the time Magellan met his own death. Thence they started on the 18th of December for what they regarded as their homeward journey.

Fate of the Trinidad's party

But the *Trinidad* sprung a leak, and her companion left her so as not to lose the favoring trade-wind. The former decided to make for Panama, and set sail on the 6th of April, 1522; but was beaten about the ocean by baffling winds, her crew riddled by famine and scurvy, and at last came back to the Moluccas without a mainmast, and only nineteen left of her fifty-four men. These were shortly taken captive by a band of Portuguese, on the watch for any remains of Magellan's party; and at last only Espinosa and three men of this band ever returned to Spain.

Meantime the *Victoria* had started for home. Her mariners, now only forty-two in number, were soon again in a half-starved condition; their supplies were reduced to rice and bad water. Continuing their voyage across the Indian Ocean, they passed Mozambique, but were afraid to land, for that was now a Portuguese settlement where the Spanish flag would be unwelcome. The *Victoria,* therefore, pressed on toward the south and west, and on the 6th of May the Cape of Good Hope was doubled.

The Victoria's voyage

The survivors of the long expedition were dying rapidly; and the thirty-one who were still alive were scarcely able to debark, when on the 9th of July they reached the Cape Verde Islands

STATUE OF
SEBASTIAN DE ELCANO AT
GUIPUZCOA, SPAIN.

MONUMENT TO MAGELLAN AT MACTAN,
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

and sailed into the harbor of Santa Argo. Even this was a desperate expedient, for the island which they had reached belonged to the Portuguese. The remnant of Magellan's men were constrained to invent an excuse for their presence by saying, with charming duplicity, that they had come from the coast of America. One thing, however, they could not explain, and that was the break in the calendar. According to their reckoning, the day of arrival should be Wednesday, but the people of Santa Argo said it was Thursday! How could this thing be?

Magellan band at the Cape Verdes

However, courage returned with what food they obtained from shore, until the suspicious Portuguese, finding out who the strangers were, seized the ship's boat with thirteen of its men. Then the weather-beaten and storm-shattered *Victoria* was obliged to fly with such tattered wings as she could still expand, and make her course to Spain. On the 6th of September, the thirtieth anniversary of Columbus' departure, the vessel reached the harbor of San Lucar. One ship and eighteen gaunt men, staggering with weakness of body and delirium of mind, had come back out of the five ships and two hundred and eighty men that went forth.

Magellan's expedition reaches home

Such as they were, however, the shattered remnant was welcomed home. The emperor received Del Cano with all the distinction which the successor of Magellan deserved. As for the great navigator, whose body sleeps forever in the sands of Mactan, no trump of fame could rouse

him, no triumphant pageant welcome him home. Even his body was refused to his comrades by the savage chief, who would keep it for a trophy. Del Cano was pensioned by the Crown. He was also ennobled, and was given for his armorial shield a globe having for its legend, *Primus circumdedisti me* (Thou first didst encompass me).

Magellan's body kept as a trophy

Strange to say, the *Victoria* had preserved her cargo of East Indian trophies, including spices and gems. Such was the curiosity and desire to possess these treasures that their sale enabled the emperor to fit out another fleet for a voyage to the far East. Del Cano's ship itself sailed soon afterwards for the West Indies, whence she returned successfully. Still again she went forth, but in this instance never returned. It was almost the common fate of the adventure and enterprises of the epoch of discovery, that at the last they dropped noiselessly into the oblivious sea, or broke themselves into nonentity on some unknown shore.

Del Cano lost at sea

Meanwhile another and greater nation was preparing to take active part in the exploration of the New World, which it was destined to hold thereafter in speech and race.

It is an interesting circumstance that the two great discoverers of America,—that is, the two discoverers from whom the greatest influences have gone forth among mankind,—Christopher Columbus and John Cabot, were both natives of the same seacoast town of Italy. The fact illustrates the working of the general laws by which all

Columbus and Cabot

human affairs are governed. In the fifteenth century the mind of man had reached its highest stage of intelligence and courage in the maritime cities of Italy. Here the affairs of the land-side and the adventures of the sea met and mingled. The navigator Verrazzano, the inspirer of navigators Toscanelli, were Italians as well. So, to be sure, were the two greatest charlatans of the Age of Discovery, who raised themselves to high fame and high place by impudence and pretense,—Amerigo Vespucci and Sebastian Cabot. But even these testify to the respect inspired by Italian science.

Italians foremost in discovery

Giovanni Caboto, or Kabote as he was called in his own language, or Gaboto as he was designated by the Spaniards, or John Cabot as he was called in England, was a native of Genoa. He was contemporary with Columbus. The birthday of neither is certainly known; but Cabot was the younger man, probably born not far from 1450. The first ascertained date in the life of John Cabot is March 28, 1476. On that day he was naturalized as a Venetian. The law of Venice required a residence of fifteen years to complete naturalization. This would indicate the year 1461 as the date when Cabot, then a youth, removed from his native place to his adopted city. He is known as a Venetian, but his great work was accomplished under the pennon of Henry VII. of England.

Cabot's nativity and birth

In the latter country, probably about 1490, Cabot became for the second time a domiciliated

stranger. He was a merchant of Bristol, and it was in this relation that he was seized with the prevailing passion of maritime discovery. The motive with him was the common delusion of finding a shorter all-water route to India. Cabot had become prominent and esteemed in Bristol. It is possible that in 1495 he went to Iceland, and represented the English merchants' claims for damages in the naval war with Denmark. A mariner from boyhood, his skill in navigation was also confided in.

John Cabot's early career

Caboto, like the mythical heroes of antiquity, had three sons. Two of these, Lewis and Sebastian, were born in Venice.[1] The third son, Sancto (otherwise Sancio, Santius, and Sancius), was born in Bristol. With Lewis and Sancto, however, history is not concerned. Sebastian, from probably about 1474, we have already characterized: he did little, claimed everything, attributed his father's acts to himself,—even telling falsehoods to the disparagement of that father,—and succeeded in imposing on those in power and becoming the great official cosmographer of England.

His family

For a long time the story of John Cabot was deemed of uncertain authenticity, and commanded a weak and varying credence among historians.

[1] Richard Eden, a contemporary and friend of Sebastian Cabot, testifies in his *Decades of the New World* that the latter told him he (Cabot) was born in Bristol. It is perfectly certain, however, that Sebastian, who never hesitated at any falsehood to his own advantage, told one in this case. Under other circumstances he gave his birthplace as Venice, which is provably true.

English historical literature, such as it was in the sixteenth century, was virtually silent respecting the discoveries of the navigator who brought to the English Crown the richest of all treasures —a new world. To the present day the scholars of Portugal, sore at the repeated rejections by their country of opportunities for world discovery and dominion, and finding no reference to the Cabot voyages in their annals, still reject them as wholly mythical. But with the overwhelming proofs now at our disposal, this is a childish freak of national grudge.

Portuguese jealousy

The Spaniards and Italians of the time were not silent. The envoys of Spain and the representatives of the republics of Italy, contemporary with the Cabots, sent to their respective governments several important accounts of the first voyage and its results. And in the contemporary annals of England itself, within seven years from the time when John Cabot planned his first voyage, there are ten references to them either as contemplated or as executed: his petition for a license to undertake them, the commission granted, entries of disbursements from the privy purse of Henry VII., for bonus or pension or loan, etc. And just twenty-five years later, in 1521, there is an equally significant negative document, the protest of the London merchants to be hereafter described, which by its denial of credit to Sebastian implies the attribution of it to his father.

Contemporary evidence

The investigations made by British authority among the archives of Venice and Spain yield a

rich harvest on this matter. In the Spanish documents was found a letter written on the 21st of January, 1497, by the Spanish ambassador to England, Puebla, informing Ferdinand and Isabella that a navigator "like Columbus" (just below it will be seen that this means a Genoese) "has just submitted a project to Henry VII. for transatlantic discovery." They reply on March 28, after the patent has in fact been issued. The same ambassador writes on July 25, 1498, concerning Cabot's second voyage, that the English king has sent out five ships "with another Genoese like Columbus."

Puebla on Cabot

In the Italian archives are three documents of prime importance. One is a letter of August 23, 1497, by Lorenzo Pasqualigo, a Venetian merchant residing in London, who, addressing his brothers in Venice, said: "The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that seven hundred leagues hence he discovered land, the territory of the Grand Cham; he coasted for three hundred leagues and landed; saw no human beings, but he has brought hither to the king certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm. He was three months on the voyage, and on his return he saw two islands to starboard, but would not land, time being precious, as he was short of provisions. The king has promised that in the

Pasqualigo on Cabot

spring our countryman shall have ten ships. The king has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then, and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is also a Venetian, and with his sons. His name is Zuan Cabot, and he is styled the Great Admiral; vast honor is paid him; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own. The discoverer planted on his new-found land a large cross, with one flag of England and one of St. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian."

Soncino on Cabot

The report of Raimondo de Soncino, the Venetian ambassador in England, to his home government under date of August 24, 1497,—that is, a fortnight after the royal entry of reward of £10 for the discovery of America,—has also been found and transcribed. The following extract from the *Venetian Calendars* for the year referred to will remain, as it is, of the highest historical importance for all time to come. The report runs thus: "Also some months ago his Majesty Henry VII. sent out a Venetian, who is a very good mariner and has good skill in discovering new islands, and he has returned safe, and has found two very large and fertile new islands; having likewise discovered the seven cities, four hundred leagues from England, on the western passage. The next spring his Majesty means to send him with fifteen or twenty ships."

To this must be added a still more interesting letter from London written by the same Venetian

ambassador, on December 18, 1497. This letter was found in the state archives of Milan. It is addressed to the Duke of Milan, the celebrated Ludovico Sforza, and is as follows:

Most Illustrious and Excellent My Lord:

Soncino's letter on Cabot

Perhaps among your Excellency's many occupations, it may not displease you to learn how his Majesty here has won a part of Asia without a stroke of the sword. There is in this kingdom a Venetian fellow, Master John Caboto by name, of a fine mind, greatly skilled in navigation, who seeing that those most serene kings, first he of Portugal, and then the one of Spain, have occupied unknown islands, determined to make a like acquisition for his Majesty aforesaid. And having obtained royal grants that he should have the usufruct of all that he should discover, provided that the ownership of the same is reserved to the Crown, with a small ship and eighteen persons he committed himself to fortune; and having set out from Bristol, a western port of this kingdom, and passed the western limits of Hibernia, and then standing to the northward he began to steer eastward [meaning westward], leaving (after a few days) the North Star on his right hand; and having wandered about considerably, at last he fell in with *terra firma,* where, having planted the royal banner, and taken possession on behalf of this king, and taken certain tokens, he has returned thence. The said Master John, as being foreign-born and poor, would not be believed if

his comrades, who are almost all Englishmen and from Bristol, did not testify that what he says is true. This Master John has the description of the world in a chart, and also in a solid globe which he has made, and he shows [or they show] where he landed, and that going toward the east he passed considerably beyond the country of the Tanais. And they say that it is a very good and very temperate country, and they think that brazil-wood and silks grow there; and they affirm that the sea is covered with fishes, which are caught not only with the net but with baskets, a stone being tied to them in order that the baskets may sink in the water. And this I heard the said Master John relate, and the aforesaid Englishmen, his comrades, say that they will bring so many fishes that this kingdom will no longer have need of Iceland, from which country there comes a very great store of fish which are called stock-fish. But Master John has set his mind on something greater; for he expects to go farther on toward the East ["Levant"], from that place already occupied, constantly hugging the shore, until he shall be over against [or "on the other side of"] an island, by him called Cipango, situated in the equinoctial region, where he thinks all the spices of the world, and also the precious stones, originate; and he says that in former times he was at Mecca, whither spices are brought by caravans from distant countries, and that those who brought them, on being asked where the said spices grow, answered that they do not know,

Soncino gives Cabot's report of the North

but that other caravans come to their homes with this merchandise from distant countries, and these [caravans] again say that they are brought to them from other remote regions. And he argues thus, that if the Orientals affirmed to the Southerners that these things come from a distance from them, and so from hand to hand, presupposing the rotundity of the earth, it must be that the last ones get them at the North toward the West; and he said it in such a way, that, having nothing to gain or lose by it, I too believe it; and what is more, the King here, who is wise and not lavish, likewise puts some faith in him; for [ever] since his return he has made good provision for him, as the same Master John tells me. And it is said that, in the spring, his Majesty aforenamed will fit out some ships, and will besides give him all the convicts, and they will go to that country to make a colony, by means of which they hope to establish in London a greater storehouse of spices than there is in Alexandria; and the chief men of the enterprise are of Bristol, great sailors, who, now that they know where to go, say that it is not a voyage of more than fifteen days,[1] nor do they ever have storms after they get away from Hibernia. I have also talked with a Burgundian, a comrade of Master John's, who confirms everything, and wishes to return thither because the Admiral (for so Master John already entitles himself) has given him an island; and he has given

Cabot to have another expedition

[1] This is curious, considering that it never took less than thirty until Cartier in 1535 made it in twenty.

another one to a barber of his from Castiglione-of-Genoa, and both of themselves regard themselves as Counts, nor does my Lord the Admiral esteem himself anything less than a Prince. I think that with this expedition there will go several poor Italian monks, who have all been promised bishoprics. And, as I have become a friend of the Admiral's, if I wished to go thither I should get an archbishopric. But I have thought that the benefices which your Excellency has in store for me a surer thing; and therefore, I beg that if these should fall vacant in my absence, you will cause possession to be given to me, taking measures to do this rather [especially] where it is needed, in order that they be not taken from me by others, who because they are present can be more diligent than I, who in this country have been brought to the pass of eating ten or twelve dishes at every meal, and sitting at table three hours at a time twice a day, for the sake of your Excellency, to whom I humbly commend myself.

Cabot's brilliant promises

Soncino has to eat too much in England

Your Excellency's
Very humble servant,
London, Dec. 18, 1497. RAIMUNDUS.[1]

We thus gain a truly historical foundation for the discovery of North America by John Cabot. It was on the 5th of March, 1496, that King Henry VII. issued letters patent to the elder Cabot and his three sons, authorizing them, *at their own*

[1] The English translation of this letter is taken from the hand of Professor Bennett H. Nash of Harvard University.

expense, to discover and take possession for England of new lands not before found by any Christian nation.[1] It was under this characteristic mediæval charter that North America was first visited by a ship bearing the flag of England. On the surface the charter seems exceedingly selfish and one-sided, all the risk to the mariner and all the profit to the Crown. This would be an incorrect view. Any new-found countries meant shortly, not alone great expense to the Crown in settling, governing, and supplying them, but a liability to fight its warlike neighbors for their possession. None of these territories were ultimately tenable except at the sword's point.

Mediæval charters of explorations

Though John Cabot was allowed to take five ships, it proved finally impossible to do more than fit out one, a small one, and find eighteen men to go. And though his children were associated with him in the charter, it is very improbable that any of them went. Sebastian later asserted that

[1] The language of the patent, as given in the record of the eleventh year of the reign of Henry VII., is: "To John Gabote, citizen of Venice; to Lewes, Sebastian, and Santius, sonnes of said John." These worthies were empowered to set up the royal banner, and to take possession of territories as the king's vassals. They might not return to any port but that from which they had departed, namely, Bristol. They should have exclusive privilege of visitation and traffic with countries found, and one-fifth of all the gains should go to the king. The authority was ample: they might "sail to all parts, countries, and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, under our banners and ensigns, with five ships of what burthen or quantity soever they be, and so many mariners or men as they will have with them in the said ships, upon their own proper costs and charges, to see out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians."

he was upon the voyage, and broadly intimated that he was its real head and did all the discovering. But it will be noted that no one of the above Venetian reports mentions him at all; it will be seen later that the London merchants did not believe he had ever voyaged to those regions, to say nothing of finding them, and his own map confirms the belief.

Sebastian's fabricated claims

Cabot's vessel was called the *Matthew of Bristol*. He spent more than a year in preparation, and early in May (it would seem) of the following year, he sailed from Bristol. Of the incidents of the voyage we know literally not a word save what has been given in the Venetian letters above, especially the last one. It was probably early in June, after a voyage of about two thousand miles, that land was first seen. To this shore the discoverer gave the name of First Seen Land (in the bad Latin of the original, *Terra Primum Vista*[1])—a name which, shifted a little in shape and perhaps applied to another part of the region, has become historical in Newfoundland.

Cabot's voyage

Cabot supposed he had reached the territory of the Grand Khan of Tartary. His actual landfall has been almost as much disputed as that of Leif Ericsson. A part of this has been due to the credence given to a map of about the middle of the century, attributed to Sebastian Cabot and

His landfall

[1] Sometimes in half-Latin the expression is given thus, *Prima Tierra Vista;* and sometimes it is simply *Prima Vista*, or "first seen."

certainly dictated by him. In this, Prima Vista is indicated by an outline corresponding in a rough way to the island of Cape Breton. It is now proved, however, that the map was made up from Cartier's discoveries, and shows merely that Sebastian Cabot was an impostor and probably never in those regions at all. Another view is that it was actually the Newfoundland of to-day. The difficulties of this are, the large, fertile islands to starboard and the apparent Eskimo inhabitants. Harrisse thinks the former the long ragged peninsulas of Newfoundland, mistaken for islands, and the landfall the northeast coast of Labrador. The immense quantities of fish correspond to the conditions about Baffin's Bay, where the fish create almost a floor of slime; the needles for nets and snares for game indicate the ingenious Eskimo. We may add that "brazilwood" (that is, merely dyewood) and "silks" are most likely sumach and mullein or milkweed. It suffices that the landfall was high up on the American coast where there were large littoral islands, and that the discovery was the foundation of the claim of the English Crown to the New World. This was the understanding of the discoverer himself, though he knew naught of the incalculable results which were to follow from his fortunate "first view" of the new continent.

Discussion of Cabot's landfall

Certain results

Cabot landed at Prima Vista, and there was raised for the first time in the Western Hemisphere the flag of England. A large cross was set up, and then Cabot, not forgetting the city of his

adoption, raised the flag of the republic of Venice. The event might be dwelt upon as a prophetic hint of three of the great forces which were to contend for the mastery of the new continent; namely, Monarchy, Democracy, and Christianity. Certainly the incident was picturesque and significant of much. It was worthy of poetry and art. It was the epic of the dawn. There in the far north, lifted by courageous hands, stood the flag of the Tudor kings. There alongside stood the Republican banner of St. Mark, and there stood the symbolical cross of that great church which was already a powerful institution, and an old and honored one, "before the Frank had crossed the Rhine, or the Saxon had set foot on Britain."

Cabot takes possession

The country, though believed by Cabot to be a part of the dominion of the Tartar Khan, was claimed by the discoverer for the English Crown. Mohammedan territories were derelict as regards Christian powers. Then he took to ship and sailed southward along the coast for a distance which the navigator estimated at three hundred leagues. To what extent (if at all) this voyage reached down the coast of the present United States has not been and cannot be ascertained. Most probably the sailing was almost wholly southward through and around the Gulf of St. Lawrence. No human beings were seen. It is true, some of the mythical narratives that have sprung up recount the story of natives seen on the shore who were clad in the skins of bears. But Sebastian's

Cabot's southward voyage

imagination, so very like Vespucci's, was probably at work on this.

Cabot's return

Cabot's stay in waters approximate to the American coast extended probably into the month of July. No doubt he was anxious to return and make his discovery known in England. The analogy between his expedition and the first voyage of Columbus here becomes striking. At all events, he retraced his track and arrived safely at Bristol early in August, 1497. He was able to report great things. The "islands," which for several years the adventurous merchants of Bristol had been sending out ships to find, were now discovered. Cabot might also hint at Cipango, the land of spices, and at the Seven Cities. He had not been able to bring home such trophies as Columbus took back to his sovereigns, but he could verify everything by sufficient testimony. His eighteen living witnesses were with him. There was no disputing the fact that *new* lands had been found several hundred leagues across and beyond the North Atlantic.

Cabot's honors

Thus Bristol in the fall and winter of 1497 was agitated by the news of foreign discovery. The king heard it with interest and delight. He gave Cabot ten pounds toward his having a good time that fall; and on December 13 an annual pension of twenty pounds, to be deducted from the customs receipts of the port of Bristol. It must be said that the town was very backward about paying the pension, and Cabot had to obtain a fresh and more exigent order from the king.

He seems, from his remarks to his Venetian friend, to be well pleased with the king's treatment of him. A new voyage was at once planned and promoted. Cabot's license was extended; but in this new grant none of his family but himself is specified. Indeed, the braggart Sebastian does not appear on the English records till near a quarter of a century later. By the terms of the new patent, John Cabot, on the 3d of February, 1498, was authorized to make a second expedition with six vessels, and to take possession in the king's name of all islands and shores which he might discover.

Cabot's new license

That this second expedition sailed, is certain; but that is almost the whole of our knowledge concerning it. We do not know where it went, what it found, how it fared, when it returned, whether it ever returned, or if so whether John Cabot came with it, or indeed another item of his life after he left Bristol. He disappears into the night; and the selfish Sebastian, who could have told us of his fate, was too much occupied in robbing his father of credit and substituting himself in his place. We know that probably the king furnished two of the vessels and private Bristol merchants the other four; that probably the fleet sailed about the beginning of May; that the king loaned one Lancelot Thurkill twenty pounds, probably toward equipping it or his part of it, which Thurkill repaid three years later; and for the rest, we must turn to a letter from the Spanish embassy, already referred to.

Scant details of the second voyage

Ruy Gonzalez de Puebla, the Spanish minister to England, had for assistant one Pedro de Ayala; and on the 25th of July, 1498, this dignitary made a report to his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, which is still preserved in the *Calendar of Spanish State Papers* at Madrid. It is as follows:

Ayala's letter on Cabot's second voyage

"I think your Majesties have already heard that the King of England has equipped a fleet in order to discover certain islands and continents which he was informed some people from Bristol, who manned a few ships for the same purpose last year, had found. I have seen the map which the discoverer has made, who is another Genoese like Columbus, and who has been in Seville and in Lisbon asking assistance for his discoveries. The people of Bristol have for the last seven years sent out every year [this is an error] two, three, or four light ships in search of the island of Brazil and the Seven Cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese. The King determined to send out ships, because the year before they brought certain news that they had found land. His fleet consisted of five vessels, which carried provisions for one year. It is said that one of them, in which Friar Buel [probably Bernard Boyle] went, has returned to Ireland in great distress, the ship being much damaged. The Genoese has continued his voyage. I have seen on a chart the direction which they took and the distance they sailed; and I think that what they

SUPPOSED COURSE OF JOHN CABOT'S SECOND VOYAGE, 1498.

have found, or what they are in search of, is what your Highnesses already possess. It is expected that they will be back in the month of September. . . . I think it is not further distant than 400 leagues. . . . I do not now send the chart, or *mappa mundi,* which that man has made, and which, according to my opinion, is false, since it makes it appear as if the land in question was not the said islands."

Ayala's letter

It is evident that Ayala has inextricably confounded the particulars of the voyage of 1497 and that of 1498. The fleet of five ships provisioned for a year was the first; the return to Ireland was by one of those of the second; the chart of the "distance they sailed" and the *"mappa mundi"* Cabot had made (not now in existence) must pertain to the first. Sebastian's report of the voyage may be dismissed at once as invention. But from La Cosa's map of 1500 (already given to our readers), and groupings of other probabilities, it is likely that the expedition went south of the Carolinas, perhaps to the St. John's in Florida; and that it returned to England in the autumn. But as it found neither the Indies nor a practicable route to them, nor brought back gold or gems or spices or perfumes, but simply skirted waste and savage lands, most likely the king and the Bristol merchants who had lost their outlay were simply disgusted and dropped exploration from their thoughts, and Cabot shortly died without notice.

Probabilities as to Cabot's second voyage

All this is guesswork, and probably must ever be so. But the work of John Cabot was not wasted. Out of his discoveries the claim of Great Britain to a share of the New World was constructed. Thus was opened four centuries ago a seemingly insignificant gateway for the outgoing and expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race with its rich, strong language, free institutions, and wholesome laws, spreading, flourishing, and conquering from shore to shore, from the rivers to the ends of the earth.

Result of Cabot's work

Of John Cabot's personality we have stated all that is known, or that can with probability be inferred. But of Sebastian something more must be said. We shall not give him the space, in analysis of his claims, which we perforce accorded his fellow in moral constitution and fortune, Vespucci; because not so much vital history is at stake. But he actually did take one voyage, which is more than we can be sure of concerning Vespucci; and he has so long been accorded honors due to his father, or to neither, that he cannot be dismissed abruptly.

Three several seeming appearances of Sebastian on the stage in the next decade must be simply set aside. The voyage of 1502-3, long accredited to him, provably cannot have been undertaken. That he went to Brazil about 1504, in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, rests solely on his own word, and has no support of probability from any record. Another voyage of 1508-9, based on the report of a fellow Venetian, but derived from himself, is certainly false.

Sebastian's imaginary voyage

He first comes into historic view on the 20th of October, 1512, when he suddenly becomes a Spanish naval captain at 50,000 maravedis ($3,000) a year, and establishes himself at Seville. This would imply that he must have had several voyages and won renown for them, did we not know how easily pretense, and with how much difficulty merit, won promotion at that court. Sebastian had become a map-maker, beyond doubt, and was reputed a scientific cosmographer; like Vespucci. What service he rendered during the next six years, we do not know; he does not appear to have gone on any voyages. But in 1518 he becomes Pilot-Major of Spain, succeeding Juan de Solis who succeeded Vespucci, at 75,000 maravedis a year.

Sebastian's high place in Spain

The next year, however, without giving up this position, we find him in England; either trying to urge Henry VIII. into a voyage of discovery toward the lands found by his father and which he was pretending to have discovered himself, or invited thither by the English court in the belief that he would be the most competent director of such a voyage. At any rate, toward the end of February 1521, the wardens of the twelve great livery companies of London were informed that the king required of them five vessels "for a viage to be made into the newefound Iland," to be commanded by one Sebastian. On the first of March they held a meeting to consult on the matter; and the Drapers' and Mercers' guilds, as representatives of the whole, reported

Henry VIII. to make him head of an expedition

English guild think Sebastian an imposter

objections to the demand. The grounds were that "maisters and mariners naturally born within this Realm of England" could have given better information about the region, and that "it were to sore a venture to jopard v. shipps with men and goods unto the said Iland upon the singuler [sole] trust of one man callyd as we understond Sebastyan, which Sebastyan as we here say was neuer in that land hym self, all if [although] he maks reporte of many things as he hath hard his father and other men speke in tyms past."

If it be said that this was mere English jealousy of a foreigner, why did it not operate against his father, still more a foreigner? It is quite incredible that Sebastian should have been, as usually stated and as pretended by himself, the virtual if not indeed the only head of an expedition to Newfoundland in 1498, and the men who ventured their money in that voyage declare in 1521 that they did not believe he had ever been there. It may be added that a voyage in search of the northwest passage, in which, as pilot-major of Henry VIII., he traced the American coast north to 67° 30′, and then sailed south and landed on the northeastern coast of South America, cannot be identified.

Sebastian's intrigues with Venice

In 1522 Sebastian Cabot, while in the pay of Spain as its chief naval man of science, was secretly negotiating with Venice to throw Spanish interests overboard, and enable Venice to reap the golden harvest of the new world. He seems to has been much below even Vespucci morally.

Vespucci only invented fictitious deeds to magnify himself and obtain a settled position; Sebastian Cabot was never satisfied with his position, however far above his merits it might be, but was continually striving to serve two masters secretly and draw pay from each.

Sebastian and Vespucci

Still in Spanish pay, in 1524 he attended the Congress of Badajoz, when the respective claims of Portugal and Spain to the Molucca Islands were decided. Soon afterwards a commercial company was formed at Seville with a view to the opening of regular trade between Spain and the Indies. Cabot was a prominent personage in this enterprise; and in this relation, in April of 1526, he sailed with a fleet of four vessels from San Lucar, with the intention of finding the Moluccas by way of the Strait of Magellan. But his provisions gave out, and he came to a landing on the coast of Brazil, where he was in conflict with the Portuguese. Subsequently he explored the lower Paraguay, and in 1529 established himself in a fort on the Parana, which he called the Fort of the Holy Spirit. He captured and traded in Indian slaves. On July 22, 1530, he returned to Spain with one ship, "without glory and without profit."

His one certain voyage

In 1538 he again endeavored to return to England; but the negotiations seem to have failed. In 1547, however, apparently at about seventy-three, he obtained leave of absence from his post in Spain, while still drawing his pay and evidently intending never to return. He went to England,

Leaves Spain

and settled there in the pay of Henry VIII. The Emperor Charles V. at last became impatient at his prolonged absence, and ordered him home, to which he paid no attention; about the time of Henry VIII.'s death in 1553 Charles once more recalled him, and asked the English government to see that he came, but this time was flatly refused. Sebastian drew his $4,500 a year for several years while ostensibly on a vacation, and in fact a permanent employee of another court. At length the salary was withdrawn, and the boy-king Edward VI. replaced it with a pension. In 1554 Sebastian was the nominal president of the merchants' company under whose auspices Willoughby and Chancelor set out to find a Northwest Passage. He disappears from sight shortly after; and the opening up of a profitable fur trade with Russia by way of Archangel, partly by accident and partly by Chancelor's courage and energy, is no part of his work in any way. He seems to have died in 1557, totally forgotten. We cannot proclaim it an injustice. No assignable work of his bore any serious part in revealing or opening up any part of the Western Hemisphere.

Sebastian in England again

Negative result of his work

PART IV.

The First Attempts of the European Nations to Colonize North America.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FOUNDING OF SPANISH NORTH AMERICA

We have now to deal with Spanish expeditions not designed to explore new paths to the Indies, nor primarily to discover the locations and conditions of new lands, but to plant permanent colonies upon lands whose locations and conditions were supposed to be roughly understood. In this phase we must restrict ourselves to the colonization of North America; and indeed to that of our own United States, save in so far as other attempts were necessary preliminaries to ours. One of these latter cannot be omitted—the conquest by Spaniards of the only semblance of a civilization and a true state developed by North American natives. That the Spanish colony was to be a ruling caste over a barbarian horde does not change its colonial nature.

Conquest of Mexico

The so-called Aztec "empire" has been much misunderstood and misdescribed; and thereby its overthrow by the Spaniards has been enwrapped in mystery and magnified into a miracle. Yet its outline is simple enough. The aborigines of Mexico were a stage higher in culture than the red Indians of the north. They had developed the wooden "long houses" into huge stone beehives of one and two stories—great communal houses holding two

or three hundred each, where the residents ate at common tables. These were often aggregated into a sort of city or "pueblo"; in some cases two or three hundred even, with a population of thirty to sixty thousand. This had enabled the growth of a great amount of luxury and even culture, of a sort usually connected with a much higher type of civilization. They had regular city markets; yet they had no improved agriculture, and their roads were only trails. They had well-developed picture writing and inscriptions; yet they were cannibals—fricasseed babies was one of their choice delicacies. Their altars streamed and reeked with the blood of human sacrifices afterwards eaten. To obtain victims for this rite and these feasts was one of the prime objects of the so-called "empire."

The pueblos

There was no such organization. There was simply an alliance for plunder. It is true, however, that the Assyrian and perhaps other early empires began that way, and this might have grown into a real one in time. The most powerful of the pueblos, Tenochtitlan, with some sixty thousand inhabitants, allied itself with a strong neighbor, Tezcuco, and a weaker one, Tlacopan, to raid the surrounding country, exacting regular tribute of general supplies and human beings. The other pueblos over a long line to the eastern seaboard, and less far north and west, simply paid this ghastly cess, and that of their products, under threat of massacre. A few were strong enough to refuse altogether, and wage bloody combats with

The Aztec confederacy

their ferocious enemy. Tlascala and Cholula were the chief of those. There was no common country to claim the loyalty of the pueblos, and no common interest to unite them against the invaders. Had they expelled these, they had only plunder and death to expect at the hands of their racial kin. It seemed better to help the less savage foreigners against their native oppressors.

The confederacy had a permanent war-chief (the "emperor"), elected by the *tlatocan* or tribal council. This could depose him at need and elect another, though in general only from the ruling family, as with the old Aryan kings. There was a further attribute of royalty in that the war-chief was also high-priest. This fact was of extreme political importance, and ultimately enabled the Spanish conquest; since the chief alone could perform the religious rites necessary to general action, and capturing him paralyzed the tribe. This system might have become a hereditary monarchy in time; or the pueblos might have become city republics like the Greek. The *tlatocan* met regularly at the public building (capitol) in Tenochtitlan, and transacted State business under the presidency of the "emperor."

Aztec government

This chief of the associated pueblos ("capital of the empire") was founded in 1325, by a Nahua tribe (the Aztecs, a name often extended to the entire Nahua stock), which seems to have come from the northwest. It was built on an elevation in a salt-marsh, where the outflow of two small salt lakes, Chalco and Xochimilco, with other streams,

Tenochtitlan founded

emptied into Lake Tezcuco. The Aztecs built dikes and turned the marsh into a lake, connected with the mainland by three causeways broken by drawbridges. This made it impregnable against any native foe; and they had great fleets of canoes on the lake. Later, they exterminated a neighboring pueblo and gained a permanent supply of water, not only for drinking but to keep the level of the lake steady in the driest seasons, maintaining their impregnability. Their first great step in political coherence was the election of the first war-chief, Acamapichtli ("founder of the empire"), in 1375. At the time of our narrative, the war-chief was Montezuma II., who acceded in 1502.

First Aztec "emperor"

It should be said that the chief of the evil spirits in their gloomy religion was Tezcatlipoca, the emblem of darkness, who had driven out the bright sun-god Quetzalcoatl. But there was a belief that the latter would return and bring a golden age of light and cheer. They could not themselves break away from the horrible domination of the gods of night and bloodshed; but they wished it done for them. There is a grim irony in the fact that they at first took Cortes and his Spaniards for Quetzalcoatl (or his *avatar*) and his hosts, and obeyed his behests as those of their expected Messiah. This gave him much of the combined popular awe and hope which carried him forward.

Quetzalcoatl to return

Cortes was a native of Estremadura in Spain. He was born in 1485, and his boyish imagination was nursed on the thick-thronging stories of the wonders of nature and human action in the West

Hernando Cortes

RITR: DI MOTEZVMA
CAVATO DALL ORIGIN
VENVTO DAL MESSICO
AL SER: G.D. DI TOSCA

MONTEZUMA.

Indies. At nineteen he went to Hayti. He served under Velasquez in the conquest of Cuba, and was made alcalde or chief judge of Santiago. In 1518, on his request, Velasquez commissioned him to follow up Grijalva's explorations on the Mexican coast, and gave him a dozen vessels and some five hundred soldiers therefor. Then Velasquez had qualms. The soaring ambition and audacity already visible in Cortes might induce him to cut loose from Cuban supremacy in that far district—which in fact was precisely Cortes' intention. So Cortes was notified that he was superseded by another; he enlisted one messenger in his own service, sent back another with a polite refusal to comply, ignored letters, won over the authorities, and on the 18th of May, 1519, sailed privily away from Cuba.

Cortes' commission

Landing at Tabasco, he gained a footing and the plunder of native storehouses by a battle, went on to San Juan de Ulloa, and sent envoys to Montezuma as an embassy from Charles the Fifth. Then with the swift sure strokes of genius he made his own position secure, and wound the Aztec "empire" in his toils. He roused the subject pueblos to defy and imprison the tribute gatherers, while to Montezuma he made a merit of releasing them. He founded Vera Cruz, and resigning his commission from Velasquez, had the town elect him captain-general. He sent a ship to Spain with his best friends, to prevent Velasquez getting in his story first. By collusion and craft he had all his ships scuttled but one, and

Cortes' varied diplomacy

then taunted the soldiers into letting him scuttle that one, to cut off retreat.

Then, early in August 1519, leaving fifty men at Vera Cruz, he began his march on Tenochtitlan with four hundred and fifty. His route was through a country swarming, not with a rabble of naked and half-armed savages, but with fairly disciplined warriors, armed with shield and javelin, sword and sharp-stoned war-club. There too in the passes were frowning and moat-defended lines of stone fortresses. But the Spaniards had invulnerable metal armor, death-dealing guns, and what terrified the Aztecs most of all, *horses,* that froze the natives' hearts with the horror of the unknown. The subjects of the confederacy were not its helpers but its deadly though cowed enemies, on fire with hate and revolt. And the glamour of Quetzalcoatl's coming half cleared the path before the invaders. Ever since Grijalva's time, stories of the sunny-skinned and bearded warriors, with sun-flashing armor and white-winged floating towers, coming from the sea wherein the sun-god had disappeared, had lain deep in all Mexican minds.

Cortes begins his march

Halting at Cempoala not far from Vera Cruz, the supposed god or his emissary seized the principal chiefs, had the idols flung to the earth, the temples purified, crosses set up over the altars, and the victims fattening for sacrifice set free. The people dared not fight without their chiefs to first perform the sacred rites; probably many were glad at heart at the vanishing of the hideous

Purges Cempoala of idolatry

nightmare. Westward up the hills the invaders marched, and climbed to the Anahuac plateau. There at Xocotlan fifty human sacrifices were made to them as gods, and cakes were soaked in the victims' blood for these gods to feast upon. The fierce pueblo of Tlascala, sixty-four miles east of Tenochtitlan which it had always defied, gave battle to the Spaniards and was beaten; then it tried craft and a night surprise, with still more disastrous results: whereupon it prudently made alliance with the strangers, reinforced them with a large contingent, and the combined force marched southwest into the Valley of Mexico.

Tlascala gained

Cholula, sixty miles southeast of Tenochtitlan, was the next great landmark. There a still subtler trap was laid, to admit and massacre the foreigners; but Cortes' famous native mistress from Tabasco, Malina (the Aztecs called Cortes Malinche, or "Malina's master"), discovered the plot, and Cortes with his Tlascalan allies took a frightful vengeance, slaying many hundred Cholulans and burning several of their chiefs alive. There as before the idols were thrown down, and the hideous altars reconsecrated to Christ.

Cholula crushed

Town after town with glittering white walls and massive temples—one of them a little Venice on Lake Chalco, rising from the waters with canals for streets and approached by causeways—rose on their sight, till they thought themselves in a land of enchantment. From wild regions of roaming savages with wattled huts, all they had hitherto found in the New World, they had on a

sudden come upon this wonderful fabric of seemingly more than civilized splendor and order.

First sight of Tenochtitlan

Then came in view the "capital" itself, the mighty Tenochtitlan. Its four "quarters" each opened on the central temple. Its paved streets and drawbridged canals ran between huge redstone "palaces" coated with glistening stucco, flat-roofed and fortified by parapets and towers, with open loopholes for windows, and bamboo screens across open doorways. Two great markets were opened every fifth day, and there were barber-shops where men were shaved with stone razors. In the centre was the great temple, where the truncated pyramid altars of twenty bloodthirsty deities were grouped around. Highest of all was that of the war-god Huitzilopochtli, a hundred feet high, with five terraces and winding flights of steps. At the top was a jasper block where the victims were laid, and their smoking hearts torn from their living bodies to lay upon the altars of the various gods, or placed in the open mouths of the idols. Sacred rattlesnakes were fed with their entrails. Floors and walls were besmeared with clotted gore and fragments of flesh. Opposite was the *tzampantli,* a high mound circled with poles on which skulls were threaded; in its centre were two towers made of skulls compacted with lime, often with skin and hair left on till they rotted off.

Hideous savage rites

From this cheerful place—where the classes which did not furnish the victims wore gay garments, drank hot chocolate and cool pulque, ate

AZTEC CALENDAR STONE.

highly seasoned baby stew, and had a merry time—came forth Montezuma to greet the army he dared not refuse to receive, including the old hereditary hated Tlascalan foes. The guests were quartered in a disused *tecpan* or council-house; and Cortes trained his artillery on the streets and posted his sentries. The strangers were placated with gifts, and fed with all the native luxuries except human flesh: *tamales* and *tortillas,* loaves of corn bread enriched with eggs, endless stews hot with chile and tabasco (a favorite one being of ants and frog-spawn). But their situation was one of frightful danger. Cortes had deliberately placed himself beyond rescue in the heart of a ferociously hostile city with twenty times his numbers. Their arsenals were stored with weapons. They could cut off his forces by sheer dint of sacrifice of lives, or besiege and starve them; and before long their hate was sure to overcome their terror. There was but one means of safety—to seize the "emperor" as he had done the Cempoala chiefs, and so through their superstitious fears render them powerless to act.

Cortes in the lion's jaws

A pretext was soon found. Montezuma was brought under suspicion of having instigated an assault provoked by one of his officers against the Spaniards at Vera Cruz. Cortes with a band of his best soldiers visited the "palace," surrounded him, and insisted on taking him back to the Spanish *tecpan,* not as a prisoner, but to be detained until the affair was investigated. In the very midst of his own officials and warriors, who with

Abduction of Montezuma

him protested at this monstrous insolence but dared not strike, this unbelievable kidnapping of the great war-chief and high priest of the Aztec confederacy was perpetrated. To soften the apparent outrage and stave off a rising, the outer forms of respect were preserved. The *tlatocan* met as usual with Montezuma as president, but in Cortes' house. Montezuma might go to the temple, but encircled with a guard of a hundred mailed Spaniards. The Aztecs did not like hastily to assume that he was a permanent prisoner, and elect his brother to succeed him; and while they still recognized him as head, they were powerless, for he was at the mercy of the Spaniards.

Aztec council in Cortes' hands

The tribute gatherer who had furnished the pretext was burned alive with several others, and vast quantities of weapons from the Aztec arsenals with them. Montezuma's brother Cuitlahuatzin, and the chiefs of the allied pueblos of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, were arrested for conspiring to release Montezuma; and the latter was forced to order the deposition of the chiefs, and the election of successors in league with the Spaniards. Somewhat more secure, Cortes overthrew one of the bloody idols in the temple and set up a cross above the altar. Thus in impotent Aztec wrath, in tense Spanish vigilance, the winter dragged away.

All the heads of the "empire" seized

But Velasquez had heard of Cortes' rebellion, which justified his forecast; and sent Panfilo de Narvaez, with a dozen ships and some nine hundred men, to take the command from him and finish the conquest of Mexico himself. Cortes

HERNANDO CORTES.

had risked the imminent probability of having his heart torn out on Huitzilopochtli's altar, and his becoming an Aztec ragout; he now risked being hanged and disemboweled in Cuba for treason. Leaving one hundred and fifty men under Pedro de Alvarado to hold the city, he set out with a bare three hundred to confront Narvaez's treble force. The latter was no Cortes, and lay unguarded in his camp. On the night of the 6th of May, while all were asleep in their tents near Vera Cruz, Cortes with his handful burst upon them. Almost without a blow they found themselves helpless captives. Cortes, with the commander in his power, easily induced all the conquered army to join his own standard. Under such a hero their hopes of plunder were far greater than before; he fired them with gorgeous tales of Mexican grandeurs; and the priests were won by telling them of the bloody pagan idols they were to overturn. Cortes marched back to Mexico with an army four times as great as the valorous little company with which he had come.

Cortes takes in Narvaez's force

Meantime, however, all behind him was on fire. The stupid savagery of Alvarado had well-nigh ruined the Spanish cause. Fearing an assault from the Mexicans, and lacking Cortes' cool sagacity, he had forestalled them by a murderous attack while they were celebrating one of their festivals, and had slain some six hundred of their leaders and priests. This bloody and foolish outrage left no issue but open war. Immediate destruction of the Spaniards was prevented by their

Alvarado's butchery of Aztecs

possession not only of Montezuma, but of Cuitlahuatzin who was next in succession. Still the Aztecs pressed on them so menacingly that they retired to their citadel, where were provisions and water. The Mexicans started to undermine it; Alvarado forced Montezuma to appear on the ramparts and warn them to desist.

Spaniards besieged in Tenochtitlan

On June 24 Cortes was back again, marched through a silent city with empty streets, and quartered his men in the fortress. He rated Alvarado for his insane performance, but that did not mend matters. With probably towards three thousand now in the fort, the food would not last long; the markets were shut, and the Spaniards dared not leave to foray or buy from the surrounding country. Cortes, therefore, not understanding the Mexican succession law, released Cuitlahuatzin and ordered him to have the markets opened. This at once untied the Aztecs' hands. They had a member of the "royal" family at their head now; he immediately called the *tlatocan* together, was chosen "emperor" in Montezuma's place, and promptly hurled the whole Aztec power against the invaders.

Cortes lets the flood loose

Now ensued a frightful scene. The Aztecs were no cowards; and though, with their relatively feeble weapons and frail defensive armor, it was like a fight of fish against crocodiles, they willingly sacrificed a hundred of their own lives for one of the foe's. The storm of darts, arrows, and sling-stones, not alone from the street level, but from high points like temple towers and house

roofs, struck down many Spanish warriors dead or grievously hurt. In return, the Spanish artillery riddled their ranks and beat down the pinnacles on which they stood, the streets were slippery with gore and the canals ran red. Cortes with menaces ordered Montezuma once more to appear and call off his subjects; but they were his subjects no longer, and he was no longer necessary or inviolable. A shower of missiles greeted his forthcoming; a stone from some native catapult struck him to the earth, and he died a few days later, on the 30th of June. Previously the Spaniards in a sally stormed and burnt the lofty temple of the war-god, which commanded their position.

Montezuma killed

Cortes saw that his troops would be eventually consumed by this warfare, or starved out at best; and on the night of the 1st of July he attempted to withdraw secretly from the city. That awful night is still called in Spanish history La Noche Triste—The Sorrowful Night. The three drawbridges across the causeway through the lake had been destroyed; and while the Spaniards tried to replace them with pontoons, the Aztecs surrounded them in overwhelming force, in swarms of canoes. When, after dawn, Cortes and the relics of his little army reached the mainland, and the Aztecs drew away, over seven hundred of the twelve hundred and fifty Spaniards and two-thirds of the Mexican allies [1] lay dead on the

"The Doleful Night"

[1] The numbers given by the early chroniclers cannot be even decently harmonized; and modern historians generally avoid the

causeway or in the waters, forty Spaniards were prisoners to be immolated as living sacrifices on the Aztec shrines, and every cannon was at the bottom of the lake. And then the tough, strong-hearted Conquistador broke down and wept.

Cortes still persists

For many months the contest was still undecided. Some of the subject pueblos now feared Aztec vengeance, and joined the men of Tenochtitlan in assailing Cortes; and even Tlascala wavered. But when the allies descended on Cortes in the Otumba valley, a crushing victory showed that he was still unconquerable; Tlascala remained true to the Spanish alliance, and the others joined him or shrunk away. Cortes sent to Hispaniola for reinforcements; evidently Velasquez's struggle with his rebellious subordinate was regarded elsewhere as a personal matter.

Final march against the capital

On Christmas Day he began a fresh and final march against Tenochtitlan, with over nine hundred Spaniards and some thousands of natives, twelve cannon, and for his infantry over a hundred hackbuts and a store of crossbows.

The great pueblo of Tezcuco, whose alliance with Tenochtitlan formed four-fifths of the Aztec "empire," seceded therefrom and joined Cortes; and with this immense reinforcement, and only the central member of the three confederate pueblos left to maintain resistance,—Tlacopan

problem by complacently adopting the most incompatible figures at different points in the narrative. Thus, Fiske makes a thousand Tlascalans go into the city and six thousand come out of it,—the former is the likeliest on all grounds; and his twelve hundred for Narvaez's army does not consist with his later figures.

having already yielded,—Cortes began his final siege on the 28th of April, 1521. Cuitlahuatzin had died of small-pox, and his nephew Guatemozin was now war-chief. After three and a half months of desperate and bloody combat, yielding only inch by inch, Tenochtitlan, in great part battered or burnt into ruins, yielded the fight on the 13th of August. It became the City of Mexico; and a church of Christ, now replaced by the Cathedral, was built upon the site of the war-god's temple.

Siege of Tenochtitlan

So great was the event that Charles V. could not but recognize the conqueror, whom he appointed governor of the newly acquired province, with authority to complete the conquest of New Spain. The city was rebuilt by the Spaniards, and expeditions were sent out in several directions until the subjugation was completed, and the whole region was added to the Spanish Crown. Cortes, the Alexander of the New World, lived till 1547; but with the usual Spanish gratitude, was shortly deposed from his governorship.

Conquest of Mexico

In the West Indies and in Spain, the conquest produced an excitement even higher than that of the Columbian discovery. Visions of peerless wealth and glory flashed before the adventurous minds of a hundred ambitious heroes. It was imagined that all the Americas possessed opulent kingdoms like that of the Aztecs—kingdoms which brave Spaniards might assail with a handful and overthrow with a single blow. Among these dreaming warriors was Panfilo de Narvaez. Little

was he disposed to pass from view on account of his humiliation at the hands of Cortes. As soon as practicable he made his way to Spain, and petitioned the Emperor for a patent to conquer and colonize. A grant was accordingly made to him of the country bordering the Gulf from the River of Palms to Florida.

Narvaez's commission

Narvaez was to found two settlements and erect two fortresses in his province, and enslave all Indians who refused submission to Spain and conversion to Christianity. In return he should be entitled *adelantado,* and be governor of Rio de las Palmas, Espiritu Santo, and Florida. His flotilla was fitted out in the port of San Lucar, Spain: five ships, carrying six hundred persons, and well provided. There were laborers as well as soldiers; mechanics as well as gentlemen; secular priests as well as Franciscan friars, and as the head of his hierarchy, Father Juan Xuarez.

The voyage was begun from San Lucar on the 17th of June, 1527. On the coast of Cuba, the fleet was wrecked by a hurricane, and not until March was Narvaez able to proceed. Steering for the River of Palms, he was borne northward by the storms to the coast of Florida, entering Apalachee Bay, which he named the Bay of the Cross. He supposed himself on the Gulf coast near Panuco. Part of the company was landed on the 15th of April, and with them Narvaez started on an exploration into the interior, while he sent the ships and about a hundred men along the coast to the northward.

Narvaez in Florida

The two divisions departed, never to meet again. No proper arrangements for a rendezvous had been made by the leader, who now marched inland, in this direction or in that, for a month. Then he came to a swift strong river which he crossed with difficulty. His men began to be worn out and hungry. Narvaez bethought him of his fleet, and dispatched Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, the treasurer of the expedition, with a resolute company, to seek its possible anchorage in some harbor. De Vaca reached the coast; but there was neither harbor nor ships, and he had to return without tidings. The main expedition wandered still farther inward, and on the 5th of June reached the Indian town of Apalachee. The native romances had declared this one of the seats of empire, and Narvaez believed he was nearing a second City of Mexico. Behold before him a squalid village of forty huts!

Narvaez and his ship part company

From the time of debarkation, the company begun to dwindle from disease and scanty rations. No adequate amount of food could be carried on such a march, and the Spaniards had fully expected to find rich tilled lands and opulent cities to supply them. But no such things came to view, and the utmost exertions were necessary to ward off utter starvation. For a while they rested at Apalachee; but the longer the stay the greater the deprivation. To get back to the coast was necessary. The Indians reported the distance thither a nine-days' march, and Narvaez and his men plunged again into the forest and made their way

Narvaez at Apalachee

down the Magdalena River. They finally reached a harbor (probably St. Mark's, Florida), which he called the Bay of Horses, for there the horses were killed and eaten. Still no ships came in sight, and their condition grew desperate.

Narvaez's company build boats

For very life they must build boats of their own. Forges were constructed; the Spaniards had first to make their tools. Every bit of iron belonging to the equipment, including the stirrups of the cavaliers and swords and musket barrels, was forged into nails and axes and saws. Timber was cut in the forest, and cordage was made of the manes and tails of the slain horses. By the 20th of September five barges were completed; and the starving Spaniards, about two hundred and forty in all, were embarked on the weak and leaking vessels.

The sailors and pilots of the expedition were with the lost ships. The management of the frail boats was left to the landsmen, who tore up their own clothing to make sails. The starving cavaliers continued afloat for about a month. Sometimes landings were made, and small supplies of food were obtained from the natives or gathered from the wild. The boats drifted southwest across the Gulf. At the estuary of the Mississippi the swift current carried the rude vessels out to a great distance. In the heavy sea of the northern Gulf the boat of Narvaez rocked, the seams opened, then filled with brine, and with nearly half a hundred souls went to the bottom. The second boat with Father Xuarez was upset in the surf and washed

Narvaez drowned

ashore. Some were drowned, some reached the beach, all were in a state of nakedness and despair. The remaining three vessels drifted on until they also were cast ashore on the coast of Texas, near the island of "Malhado," probably Galveston.

Ship-wreck on Texas

It were hard to say whether the terrors of the sea, or the hostility and cruelty of the savages on the coast, were more to be dreaded. The island was occupied by fierce inhabitants, who supported themselves precariously on shell-fish and a few other products of the surf and sand. Their animosity towards the Spaniards knew no bounds. Several were killed, and others died of disease and starvation.

After the death of Narvaez the command naturally devolved on Cabeza de Vaca. The miserable survivors, half starved and naked, now vainly sought to make their way to the Spanish settlements in Mexico. Death claimed the greater number; but a handful finally escaped into the interior, where they became captives among the Texas Indians called the Mariames. For six years they remained with their captors, though passing by conquest to another tribe called the Avavares. All died except De Vaca, two Spanish companions, and a negro slave. These forsaken fugitives finally escaped, and on the 1st of April, 1536, emerged on the Pacific coast at San Miguel in Sinaloa.

Cabeza de Vaca's adventures

And Narvaez's fleet? After coasting for a certain distance, it returned to the harbor whence it departed; and while at anchor, two other ships

arrived from Cuba. Receiving no tidings from Narvaez's company, the squadron sought to find it; but could do no more than follow fruitlessly the coasts of Florida. They then steered westward around the Gulf, but found no sign on any coast. At last, despairing of the search, the vessels returned to Cuba and left their comrades to perish. Only their crews and the three men saved with De Vaca survived, to tell the tale of what was perhaps the most disastrous and wretched adventure which the epoch of discovery left in its wake.

Vain search of Narvaez's fleet

In the mean time, Spanish conquest had been extended in a marvelous manner into South America. In that broad field of enterprise a conqueror appeared, whose bloody fame was destined to remain forever on record. But Pizarro's conquest of the Incas' Peruvian empire in 1533 is no part of North American history, and cannot be told here.

The next important colonial enterprise of the Spaniards, one of the most picturesque and conspicuous of all the Western episodes, was the expedition of Hernando de Soto of Xerez de Badajoz. De Soto was a man of good birth and official rank. He was born in 1500, in the very climax of the first cycle of Discovery. When only fourteen he accompanied Pedrarias Davila to Darien. In 1514 he was with Cordova in Yucatan and Nicaragua. Thenceforward he took part in nearly all the Spanish exploits in Central America, until April 1532, when with Pizarro he shared in the conquest of Peru and the treasure of the Incas.

Hernando de Soto

HERNANDO DE SOTO.

De Soto returned to Spain enriched with the spoils of an empire, and appareled like a mediæval prince. The romantic conqueror was welcomed with universal applause. Nor were his wealth and splendor greater than his pride and ambitions. In 1537 he requested of the Emperor a commission as governor of the entire province from the River of Palms to Florida; that of Narvaez and De Ayllon's discoveries combined in one. The governorship of Cuba and the title of *adelantado* were also to be added. The Emperor readily acceded to all. But De Soto must within a year proceed in person to the Land of Flowers, exploring it and conquering the natives. To this end, he should have a great fleet and a large colony of emigrants. The spoils of gold and gems and pearls should be divided between the conquering band on the one side, and the royal treasury on the other.

De Soto's commission

The excitement in Spain at this time was heightened by the story of Cabeza de Vaca. True, Narvaez had gone to his rest at the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico. True, his miserable companions had been in part drowned, in part slain by savages, in large part starved to death. But had not De Vaca made his way into the interior? Had he not doubtless found grandeurs which his silence was intended to conceal? There might be things more sublime than the City of Mexico, more rich than the treasure-houses of Cuzco.

De Vaca's return

So a fleet was joyfully provided for De Soto: five capacious ships, two caravels, two pinnaces.

De Soto's fleet and company

Then came the enlistment of volunteers. San Lucar was thronged with excited pilgrims from many and widely sundered places. All the divisions of Spanish society—nobles, peasants, artisans, and priests—were represented in this mélange of humanity: adventurers and real colonists, the rich and the penniless, some in gorgeous civilian attire and some in mail (including a band of sensible Portuguese). Even a few women were among the emigrants, who numbered about nine hundred and fifty in all.

The equipment and supplies of the expedition were overflowing as well. A herd of three hundred swine were included, to multiply in the New World; and three hundred and thirty horses, destined to change the entire life and nature of the Red Indians of the West. Shackles were provided for future captives, and bloodhounds for running them down. In a more humane spirit was added a cargo of mechanics' tools, implements of husbandry, and the like. In April 1538 the expedition sailed from San Lucar. On the water's edge the populace sent after the departing vessels every kind of huzza and benediction, with the blare of trumpets and the thunder of cannon.

De Soto's departure

De Soto was received in Cuba as governor with every mark of honor. Gladly did many of the Cuban Spaniards join their fortunes with those of so great a leader. Nor were these marks of confidence wholly misplaced. De Soto was brave, energetic, tenacious, and not without judgment. A better glory is, that according to the

standards of his age he was a man of honor, and his imagination made him less coarse and brutal than the average of Spanish commanders; though he could be cruel enough, and suffering brutalized him.

Character of De Soto

Cuba at this time furnished an excellent basis for Western adventure. Its proximity to the American coast made the remaining voyage easy and safe. Havana had already become an interesting commercial town. The West Indies satisfied men of a certain type, and many Europeans went no further. It is therefore not surprising that De Soto's men were in no haste to leave Cuba for the hardships of exploration. Almost a year was passed before the expedition of about six hundred men proceeded on its way, May 18, 1539. A week later, it came to anchor in a western bay of Florida. The day being the Feast of Pentecost, De Soto called the harbor Espiritu Santo, or the Holy Spirit. A landing was made, and a short distance inland an Indian town was found, whose chieftain was named Uzita. On the 3d of June, De Soto took formal possession of his province. His year had expired, but forfeiture of his charter was not likely to be urged against such a leader under such conditions.

De Soto reaches Florida

At this juncture De Soto had the good fortune to procure a competent interpreter. Among the wretched followers of Narvaez was a certain Juan Ortiz, who was captured by the Indians, and in retaliation for Spanish cruelties was placed on the scaffold to be burned alive. But as

Ortiz' Pocahontas

the torch was applied, Uzita's daughter rushed before her father and pleaded for the captive's life: one white man could do him no injury, and besides, what distinction it would be to have a white slave! The maiden's love prevailed, as it is wont to do: Ortiz was snatched unhurt from the burning and adopted by the tribe, and learned the native language. Him after nine years De Soto now found and rescued. Uzita's Indians had been assailed by the Spaniards, when Ortiz proclaimed his nationality and begged for grace also for his tribe. This appeal secured temporary amity between reds and whites, and a means of communication.

But De Soto was a man of his age. He regarded the Indians as his game. Says Oviedo, "The governor was very fond of this sport of killing Indians." And all who were captured were made slaves and forced to follow from camp to camp. Under this code of principles De Soto began his march into the interior. He sent back to Cuba for additional supplies, the fleet to report at a certain place on the coast. Then the cavaliers plunged into the dark morasses and dense woods of Florida and Alabama, dreadful and almost impossible of penetration. The experiences of Narvaez were now repeated on a larger scale, only exchanging the hardships of the sea for those of the wilderness. The supplies ran low and soon ran out. Within a month, hunger was felt; and the gay scarfs and slashed silk doublets were torn away by the brambles. The natives were few

Sufferings on De Soto's march

and hostile; some of them repeated the same story which had lured Narvaez to his crowning disappointment at Apalachee. That sublime metropolis was now reduced to *fewer* than forty cabins, and those mostly deserted. De Soto's men plead with him to return to the sea; but he stood like Don Quixote listening to the common-sense remarks of Sancho Panza. Could not the complaining weaklings remember the hardships and the glory of Cortes and Pizarro? *They* had succeeded in finding empires, and gaining for themselves both glory and immeasurable wealth. Why was it to be supposed that the New World held only Mexico and Peru? De Soto in truth was no more a dreamer than the others: merely of worse fortunes.

De Soto's hopes rational

Acting on this hopeful theory, he renewed the march in the autumn. Just before winter, he reached by a circuitous route the coast where Narvaez had extemporized his brigantines. During the winter he managed to send a vessel for additional supplies to Cuba, where he would have it believed that the great enterprise was progressing auspiciously. Twenty Indian women were sent as slaves, in earnest of treasures to come.

Thus came the spring of 1540. In that mild climate only the rains of winter, not its snows, impeded their progress. As early as the 3d of March the journey northward was renewed. De Soto thought he had reached a point three hundred miles from his landing. The Spaniards now began to scatter havoc among the natives. By

The second year opens

this time, the Indians far around had learned that they could not save themselves from death or slavery by stories of great cities further on, but only by tribute of riches which they did not possess. Naught but war and treachery remained as weapons of defense.

Savagery toward the Indians

De Soto demanded from every chieftain on his march a supply of provisions and a corps of servants. He organized a slave brigade to bear the stores and equipage. Nor could the poor wretches escape from this servitude; for they were manacled and coupled in twos. Only the exhaustion and death of one could release him from the thrall of the other. As for the Indian women, the beautiful were seized for mistresses and the strong for servants. The Indians durst not disobey in anything. Recalcitrants were punished by having their hands cut off. Sometimes the captives were set up as living targets for the cavalier crossbowmen and hackbuteers.

Straits for food

Yet De Soto and his men were at the mercy of those to whom they showed no mercy. But for the trophies of Indian skill and the products of Indian industry, the whole band must have perished. Game, wild fowl, and fish were abundant, but the Spaniards knew only how to hunt and snare Indians. Their sole reliance for domestic meat food was in the herd of wild swine they husbanded and drove ahead of them, and which multiplied with great rapidity. Moreover, they pined for salted and peppered meats, and those could not be had. Indian corn, beans, and pumpkins were

obtainable in the inhabited regions. Mythical stories of gold and gems still cheered them at times, but the illusions steadily vanished. A store of pearls were obtained, and heavy necklaces made for Spanish ladies never to be seen more, but pearls were not food.

De Soto reaches the Savannah

After a march which De Soto reckoned at more than thirteen hundred miles, through a region never before traversed by white men, he reached the Savannah, which he thought the Espiritu Santo or Mississippi, below where Augusta now stands. There he found an Indian capital, Cofitachiqui, with a beautiful queen who had herself borne on a carpeted and cushioned barge to meet her visitor, and placed on his shoulders a superb necklace of pearls taken from her own throat. But Antony kept his Cleopatra as a captive, after ransacking the burial mounds of her people for the pearls she had told him were interred with them. It is pleasant to know that the pearls were worthless, ruined by being pierced with a hot iron and turned brown.

Cleopatra of the Savannah

Here the expedition passed the greater part of May. Many of De Soto's followers would gladly have remained in this fertile and beautiful region, and planted there their colony; but, fortunately for America, their prosaic common-sense was overcome by the dreams of the *adelantado*. The Indian queen was compelled to follow on foot; but in a few days she slipped away into the darkness, bearing with her a heavy box of pearls which her people had contributed to the cruel master.

De Soto in Tennessee

After seven days a Cherokee town of three hundred houses was descried, seven hundred and fifty miles from Savannah; probably on the site of Coosawattie in Tennessee. The Cherokee chieftain gave them corn and three hundred dogs for food. Then the march was continued to the beautiful river Connasauga, containing an island where the mussels had pearls in their shells. Near by, on the site of the present Rome, Georgia, the Spaniards encamped and sent an expedition to search for gold mines reported at Chiça; but it brought back only a curiously ornamented buffalo robe. After a month's sojourn, the march was renewed with reviving health and zest, to the

At the Coosa

Coosa River in Alabama; named from Coça, the Indian capital there, where corn and beans and forest fruits were obtained. The Indian chieftain was subservient, but that did not save him from captivity; so the remaining Indians fled, but as many as De Soto could capture he manacled for slaves.

After a stay of nearly a month, the Spaniards marched to the fortified town of Ullibahali. The natives did not attempt to defend it, and De Soto largely added to his crew of both male and female slaves.

On the 2d of September he left the place and proceeded to Tastaluza, about twenty miles to the

South through Alabama

south. This was really a considerable town. The Indians were well-to-do and half civilized. Their cacique Actahachi bore himself like a king, sitting on a raised platform and supported with cushions,

while his Big Men, covering him with an umbrella, stood in a circle around him. The Spanish pageant impressed him with neither fear nor seeming curiosity; but he was made to take an interest in it by being made captive, and only released by sending a message to a vassal cacique of his at Mauila or Mavila (Mobile), ordering him to receive the Spaniards as friends and furnish them with servants and provisions. Even after this, they forced him to accompany them in person.

Cacique Actahachi kidnapped

This the untutored savage curiously regarded as a breach of faith; and when the leading Spaniards were sitting at a feast in Mauila, he instigated an attack upon them. De Soto barely escaped with his life; five of his men were killed, and all the rest, including himself, were wounded, some being made prisoners. The manacled Indians were rescued by their people, liberated, and armed.

The Indian warriors then barricaded their gates and prepared for a desperate defense. After a terrific combat, in which the Spaniards got inside the palisades by stratagem and fired the huts, the entire body of Indians, said to have numbered twenty-five hundred, perished by the sword or the conflagration. It was the most fearful butchery thus far witnessed between the two races in America. It is said that only three of the Indians remained alive; and that of these, two continued the fight to the death, while the third climbed a tree and hanged himself with his own bow-string.

Terrible work at Mobile

But for the Spaniards the outcome was sufficiently disastrous. Twenty were killed outright, and one hundred and fifty were wounded. Eighty-two of the horses were killed or maimed, and four hundred swine were burned.

Heavy Spanish losses

While meditating on this doleful victory, news was brought by Ortiz that De Soto's subordinate Francisco Maldonado was on the coast with a fleet, awaiting orders. A few days' march would bring them to rescue and peace; but De Soto would not go back to Cuba in this forlorn condition, without trophies or honor. He would win what he set out to win, or die in the forest. On the 14th of November, 1540, he turned northward through Alabama.

First reaching Cabusto on the Black Warrior, he came shortly after to Chicaça (Chickasaw) on the Yazoo. Its cacique, by aiding him against another potentate, was won over to allow the Spaniards to winter in the town. In spring the usual demand was made for a company of carriers; but every Indian now knew what this meant. The cacique dissembled till he could gather his warriors for a sudden onslaught. De Soto's company was half exterminated; Chicaça was burned, and nearly all the Spanish baggage, with much of their armor. The cavaliers had to fall back upon native wit, to make new and grotesque garments out of woven grass, new saddles, and new weapons. A second engagement was fought March 15, 1541; again with Spanish victory, and fresh loss which they could not afford. They were hemmed in by

Terrible Spanish disaster

relentless foes, and on the 25th of April still another battle cost them more than thirty in killed and wounded.

Still moving westward, the great river was approached at or near the lower Chickasaw Bluff, just below the thirty-fifth parallel. The natives on compulsion promised to furnish boats, but did not do it, and the Spaniards had to build four transports for themselves and horses. The natives assembled on the other bank met the Spaniards with a fleet of canoes. De Soto planted a cross, and the religious ceremonial was observed.

The Mississippi reached

By this time the reverses of the Spaniards had greatly diminished the Indians' fear. De Soto had played upon the superstition of the savages by pretending to a divine origin, and exacting acts of worship. But now the Indians openly refused to obey; one chieftain told him that he would only do so if De Soto proved his divine origin by drying up the Father of Waters.

From this point, the Spaniards made an excursion as far as the St. Francis River, which they crossed, entering the southern part of Missouri in the vicinity of New Madrid. The next stage was westward about two hundred miles, reaching to the Hot Springs of Arkansas and the tributaries of the Washita. At the town of Antiamque, on the banks of this stream, they passed the winter of 1541-42. The natives were semi-civilized, and were not unfriendly; but the cruelty of the Spaniards had now been whetted by their afflictions, and they spared not at all. They set on fire the Indian

In Missouri and Arkansas

towns, and made sport of the anguish and despair of the poor wretches who fled away. It was at this stage of De Soto's progress that he ordered the hands of the Indian captives to be chopped off; and some of the prisoners were burned alive, because in fear of death they told a lie.

De Soto down the Mississippi

Two towns of considerable resources were found in the land of the Dakotas, on the western shore of the Mississippi. The cavaliers were not opposed in entering, and were soon able to reclothe themselves more conformably to the manners of civilized life. The country round about was freely explored by De Soto's men, before whose eyes, even here, the illusion of gold still flashed like fireflies in the darkness.

After a season, the cavalier proceeded down the river to a town named Quiguate, which was abandoned at his approach; but the houses furnished him a shelter. In the first fall month he came to Coligua, and here buffalo were found roaming wild in the grassy glades. The region was well inhabited. As to findings of gold, there was the ever recurring disappointment, and at the last, despair. The mines of the precious metals receded to the horizon and disappeared like a mirage.

By the spring of 1542 the expedition had become a procession of spectres; but the spectres could still march and fight. During the winter at Antiamque the interpreter and guide Ortiz died, and De Soto himself grew weak under hardship and discouragement. With the return of mild

Ortiz' death

weather, however, he determined if possible to reach the Gulf of Mexico, and build brigantines to return to Cuba.

Hope had died out; the whole enterprise was now rapidly converging to the final catastrophe. He arrived at the confluence of the Red River with the Mississippi on the 17th of April, 1542, but could proceed no further. His fever increased to a delirium. He had only time in his remaining intervals of lucidity to give a few directions to his companions, and to appoint Luis de Moscoso of Alvarado as his successor. Then on the 21st of May, as the shadows of the final sleep gathered on him, he commended his soul to God, and passed away. In the annals of mankind, a more desolate death never terminated a career of dreams, chivalry, criminal deeds, and spectacular romances. After his death, the inventory of the Adelantado's property showed five Indian slaves, three horses, and a small herd of swine! His body, to save it from desecration by the Indians, was sunk in the Mississippi.

De Soto's death

Moscoso found that the original force had been diminished by fully two hundred and fifty men, or nearly one-half the whole. At first, they set out for the Mexican province of Xacatin; but were unable to reach it and were obliged to return to the Mississippi. Here they passed the winter of 1542-3, compelled to defend themselves from Indian hostility. With all their remaining energy they sought to construct some brigantines. It was a herculean task. A forge had to be constructed,

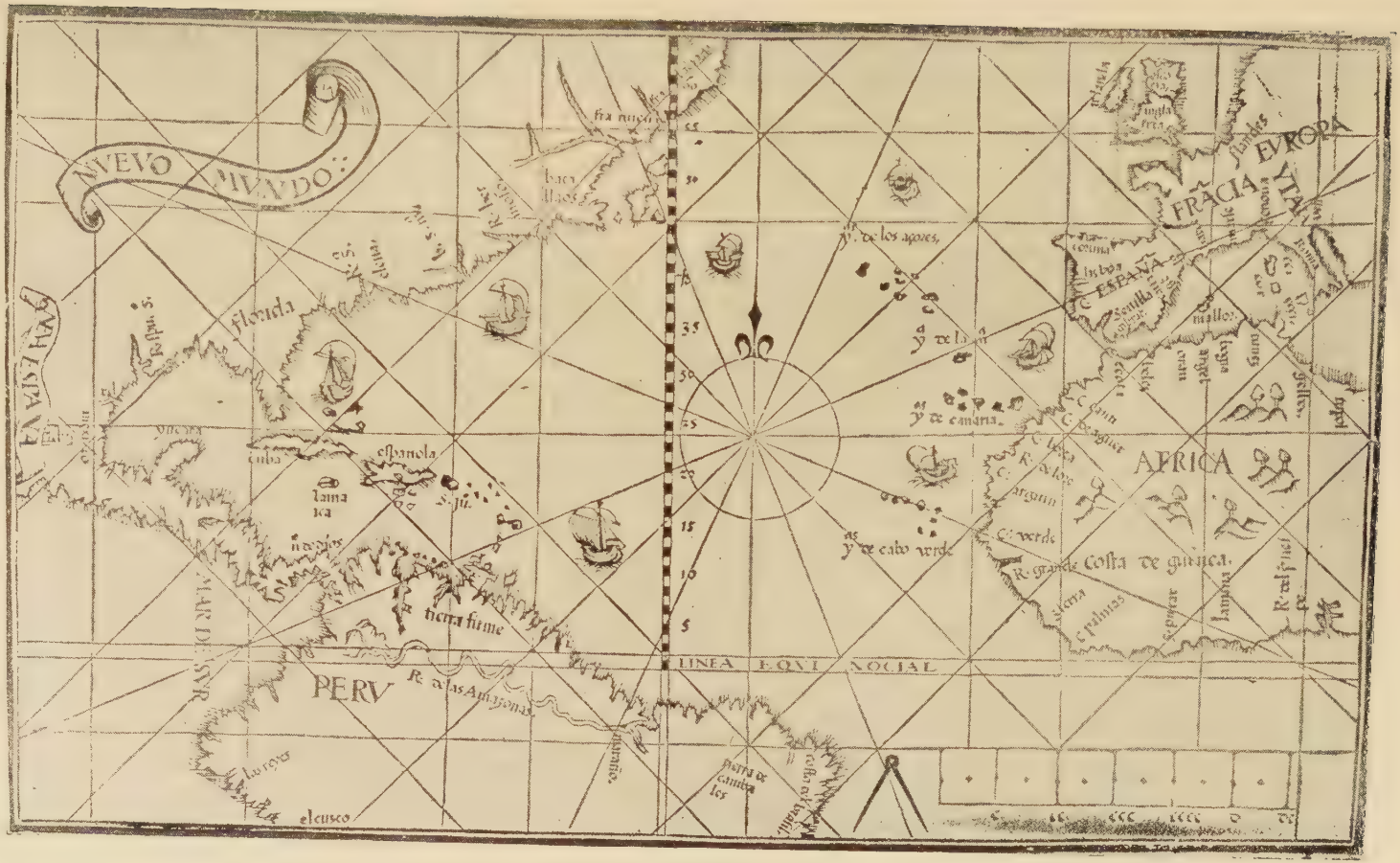
Wanderings of the survivors

and timber felled and sawed into lumber. Tools must be made with other tools, in turn sardonically made out of the broken manacles and fetters of the Indian slaves. At last seven rude brigantines, besides smaller skiffs to accompany, were built and launched. In the first six months of the year the expedition was got in hand, and Moscoso took to the river, pursued by the hostile Indians. Twelve of his remaining men were drowned by the enemy, who ran them down in their swift canoes before the Spaniards could reach their larger boats.

Moscoso on the Mississippi

On the 2d of July, the brigantines drifted down the river. From the point of embarkation, it was almost five hundred miles to the Gulf. The voyage down was accomplished in seventeen days. Reaching salt water, the Spaniards turned to the right, keeping close to the shore; after fifty-five days of buffetings and perils along the stormy coast, three hundred and eleven famished and heart-broken fugitives reached the Spanish-Mexican town of Panuco, at the mouth of the River of Palms. Thus ended the most romantic, pretentious, spectacular, aimless expedition in all colonial history. It might be regarded as simple exploration but for the fact that the Spaniards, having no such aim, did not take notes of the topography of the country, of its varied productions, or of the character of the Indian nations. The only historical value of the episode was deduced subsequently from the annals of the expedition, by writers who were better able than the actors

End of De Soto's expedition



THE OLD AND NEW WORLDS IN A SPANISH VIEW, 1545.

in the drama of wandering to discover its significance.

We turn for a time to an effort of the French, to which the Spaniards put a speedy and bloody termination. Gaspard de Coligny, the chief of the French Protestants or Huguenots, had framed a large-minded and statesmanlike plan, not only for his sect but for his country. He believed that a Huguenot colony would not alone furnish a refuge for his persecuted fellow-believers, and strengthen them by the resources of an offshoot, but would add to the resources and renown of France. More than that, he believed it would help to quiet the factions of France: the Catholic party might desire to make terms on seeing a large emigration of citizens and their planting of heretical states elsewhere, and the removal of the more radical elements might leave peace behind them.

Coligny's colonial scheme

Accordingly, in February of 1562 he sent out from Havre two vessels, under command of Jean Ribault of Dieppe. Ribault was an experienced navigator of forty-two, himself a Protestant. He was "to discover and view a certain long coast of the West India . . . called the Florida." This could mean anywhere between the Gulf and the frozen zone. Ribault's company, with some adventurers, consisted mainly of *bona fide* colonists. All were of course Protestants, all were imbued with the spirit of Christian propagandism among the Indians; and like all colonists then, gold and precious stones were uppermost in their minds.

Ribault's colony

Delayed by storms, not until the 27th did they get in safety out of the harbor of Brest. On the 20th of April they came in sight of a fair and hilless coast, bordered with a fine forest. This was Florida between 30° and 31° north latitude. Anchorage was made at an outlying cape, which was named Cape Francis in honor of the king.

French visit the St. Johns

A boat's crew sent to the shore found the mouth of a great river, in which large shoals of fishes were sporting. They named it the River of May; later (as now) it was called the St. John's. Indians "all gentleness and amitie" ran along the shore with friendly beckoning gestures, pointing to a good place for debarkation. The French, thankful for heaven's favor, worshiped on the wild shore; then they set up a stone column bearing the arms of France, and claimed the country in the name of the king, ignoring the natives. In the beauty of spring, and the wealth of native products animate and inanimate, the enthusiasm rose high. Never was there a more auspicious beginning for a colony.

Yet this spot was not at once chosen for an abiding place. After a few days Ribault sailed northward, and on the 27th of May reached the deep and spacious haven of Port Royal. He sought no further. Addressing his people, he pointed out that while the majority remained and built a fort, a few must return with him to France for supplies. His decision was accepted. A small island in the present Archer's Creek, which enters the sea about six miles from Beaufort, South

Ribault settles on Port Royal

Carolina, was chosen as the site for "Fort Charles." On the 11th of June, Ribault sailed away for France with the promise of a speedy return. The remaining colonists worked assiduously to complete the fort; protected by this, with a good store of supplies, they considered themselves safe from harm.

Fort Charles built

But the absence of anxiety soon worked improvidence. Their supplies dwindling, they began to be despondent. Enterprise lagged, and no rational effort was made to provide for the future. The Indians wearied of maintaining such a company of do-nothings out of the necessaries for their own comfort. Indeed, as they accumulated little for themselves, they were really unable to supply the colonists from their daily hunt and slender planting. Nevertheless, the relations of the races were friendly enough. The Indians generously filled and refilled the storehouses of the French as long as they had anything. But the latter showed little thankfulness and no economy. Once the storehouse was lost by fire. The first deputy commander roused a mutiny, and was murdered by his men. His abler successor could not supply the general wants. At length the only remedy seemed return to France. The men extemporized a poor open pinnace and put out to sea. The food and water did not last half-way across; several starved to death, and one poor wretch was killed and eaten. Finally an English vessel met and seized them, debarking the helpless at a French port, and holding the rest for ransom.

French abandon Port Royal

Ribault's return had been delayed by the political state of France, which absorbed all Coligny's energies and threatened him with destruction. Not until the following year could he take up the question of rescuing the colony at Fort Charles. Then a new expedition was fitted out under René de Laudonnière, one of Ribault's subordinates on the first voyage. In the early part of June the three vessels arrived off the mouth of the St. John's. The Indians with their chief Satouriona gave the French a cordial welcome. According to Laudonnière, the natives had reverently preserved the pillar set up by Ribault, and crowned it with wreaths. Little baskets of corn were found buried at the foot. The chief's son gave the French a wedge of silver, and the fatal gift, as usual, inflamed the cupidity of the Europeans. They were told by the wily natives that it came from the rich supplies of a hostile tribe in the interior. Would not the French join the friendly red men against the common foe? Thus they might enrich themselves at will.

Laudonnière goes to Florida

Laudonnière, however, shunned the bait. He voyaged north to rescue his friends at Fort Charles; but learning from the Indians that it was abandoned, and wisely preferring the limitless wild fruits and game of the St. John's region to the fine harbor on the Carolina coast, the safe present to the commerce of the future, he returned to Florida. Selecting the high ground now called St. John's bluff, a palisaded fort was built, flanked by woods and marshes; and the Indians gave

Settles on the St. Johns

effective aid. Evidently they had no thought of making hostilities.

Laudonnière named his stockade Fort Caroline, in honor of his new sovereign, Charles IX. Wisdom would have pointed to the building of a village and the immediate development of a plantation round about. But Laudonnière's men followed the beaten road of human folly. They neglected nature's opportunity, and began a vain search for silver and gold. Satouriona and his Big Men also took the course which their experience justified; to please or to delude their friends we cannot tell which. The Indians said *Lo, here,* and *Lo, there.* But the French came only to the mines of Nowhere in the country of Want. Two Spaniards, castaways from some old expedition of fifteen years agone, also romanced about a race in the interior whose cacique had stored at least "a tunne" of gold in a pit. This recital led the French on another visionary march, and into warfare with the native tribes.

Fort Caroline built

After a season the legitimate consequences began to be felt. There arose quarreling and enmity among the French, who blamed their leader and made a futile conspiracy to murder him, seize the ships, and sail away on a voyage of piracy, rob the Spanish treasure-ships on their voyages home, and plunder churches here and there. The first piratical plot was detected and suppressed by Laudonnière, but a second was more successful. He was seized, compelled to extemporize letters of marque and reprisal for the conspirators, and

French turn pirates

taken with them on their cruise, with two stout ships built for the purpose, beside the three which had brought the expedition over. But as soon as captures were made, the captors quarreled over the booty. Then the Spaniards came down on them, and captured three ships; one escaped; the fifth remained in the hands of an officer loyal to Laudonnière. This officer, by adroit management, got the ship back to Fort Caroline, where Laudonnière and his faithful comrades put the ringleaders to death.

French piracy quelled

Thus passed the first season in French Florida. With the approach of winter, the supplies of the colonists ran low. The red men would no longer exhaust their stock of corn and beans for trinkets. The French came into a strait place, and gave themselves up to yearning for the coming of French vessels. They would not yet go back to France and face the reviving dangers of persecution. Somehow they got through the winter. But, strange to relate, with the following spring they neglected the plain and easy method of securing subsistence, and planted nothing. They moped along the banks of the bluff, looking wistfully for the expected ships.

As the summer wore away they began to consider getting supplies by force from the Indians. The first plan was to capture Satouriona and hold him for a ransom in food. Laudonnière sought to repress this scheme; but want knows no law, and he was obliged to assent to the capture, not of Satouriona, but of another chieftain called Cutina.

French idleness and folly

The enraged Indians dissembled their feelings and laid an ambuscade. When the French were about to help themselves to the ransom, the red men rose out of the covert and strewed the ground with twenty-two killed and wounded. Two bags of corn were all that the white survivors were able to bear away. However, the French held out for a time, and the growing season of 1565 brought some improvement. They fed themselves sufficiently, and gathered stores on shipboard, resolved at last to face the enmity of their countrymen rather than endure any longer the barbarian perils of the New World.

Indians ambuscade the French

Before embarkation, Laudonnière, ever vigilant and hopeful, discovered on the horizon the coming fleet. It proved to be the war vessels of Sir John Hawkins, the Englishman, returning from one of his voyages, laden with Spanish spoils. Nevertheless, the fleet was signaled. Hawkins generously offered either to furnish them supplies, or transport them back to France. Most of the Huguenots were overjoyed; but Laudonnière was not willing to yield. After a severe struggle, he prevailed upon them to purchase one of Hawkins' ships with its stock of provisions.

Hawkins offers rescue

Later in the same month (August, 1565) a fresh clamor constrained him to consent that the enterprise be abandoned. But just as the colonists were in the act of embarking, *another* fleet of seven ships was descried, with the French pennon at the masthead. The captain was Jean Ribault! He brought a new colony of three hundred

Fresh abandonment by French

men, abundantly equipped and supplied. Great was the jubilation of both companies. To Laudonnière's amazement, however, he found himself superseded by Ribault. The malcontents and pirates who had escaped after the capture of the fleet by the Spaniards had libeled him to Coligny till the Admiral had displaced him. Ribault acted with generous good feeling. He offered to leave the old colony to itself under Laudonnière at Fort Caroline, and to seek a new station further inland. But the disgraced officer would not hear of it. He fell into a fever. Recovering somewhat, he determined to go home and refute the slanders to Coligny himself. But ere he could take ship, a new and terrible phase was given to the whole question.

Ribault supersedes Laudonnière

For in the mean time the Spanish claim to the southeastern parts of North America had not been forgotten. Notwithstanding the fatal outcome of De Soto's adventure, the purpose of colonizing the Gulf countries continued to work among the leading spirits of the Spanish empire. Nor did the government dream of abandoning its claim; but during the rest of Charles V.'s reign, his thronging difficulties made him unwilling to embark in active enterprises to enforce it. An attempt by Father Luis Cancer in 1546 to establish the Dominican order in Florida, was ended by his instant murder by the Indians as soon as he landed. They had not forgotten the Spaniards. Near the close of Charles' reign, however, he invested his son Philip II. with the kingdom of

Lull in Spanish colonization

Naples and Sicily; and the Council of the Indies advised Philip to undertake a fresh and effective colonization of Florida. A new spirit was also to be manifested toward the natives: the churchmen especially were ashamed of their countrymen's behavior toward the natives, and disgusted with its effects.

Spanish colony for Pensacola

Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain, who sympathized with the new policy, was intrusted with the task. An exploring party in 1558 reported in favor of Pensacola Bay (called Felipina after Philip); and on the 11th of June, 1559, a fleet with fifteen hundred colonists, including several Dominican friars, sailed from Vera Cruz under command of Tristan de Luna. He selected Ichuse (Santa Rosa Bay) instead: but a hurricane destroyed over a third of the fleet and a large part of the supplies; the harbor was unsafe and the river useless, the Indians hostile, the commander fell sick of a fever; and finally a small party was left at Ichuse, while the remainder made their way to Nanipacna (Santa Cruz) and wintered there.

Ill fortunes of the colony

The party at Ichuse, fed by the Indians, made their way the next summer to the Coosa River. Tristan de Luna went to Ichuse to search for them, found them not, and went insane, while part of his following sailed to Havana. In lucid intervals he sought to escape or to reach the Coosa. His soldiers mutinied, and all were condemned to death. The Alice-in-Wonderland sentence of course could not be executed. Nearly all finally

went aboard a fleet from Vera Cruz under Villafañe, who sailed around to Port Royal and laid claim to the country, in the spring of 1561. Coasting beyond Cape Roman, he marched inland to the Santee and Pedee, and then back to Cape Hatteras, whence he sailed to Hayti.

The belief that there was no immediate danger of French aggression led to the postponement of colonization schemes for a while. This was the advice even of Pedro Menendez de Avilés, captain-general of the Spanish navy, a man of dauntless resolution and incomparable energy. Later, Menendez was disgraced and imprisoned on charge of mismanaging a fleet in the Bermudas; released in 1564, he agreed in requital to examine and chart the coast of Florida for navigation.

Menendez's commission

The project grew under Philip's hand into a new plan of colonization under Menendez. At his own expense the latter furnished ten vessels laden with supplies (including horses, swine, and sheep), and five hundred settlers, part married farmers and a goodly number of priests, four of the latter Jesuits; and he was to subdue and colonize Florida within three years. In return he was to be a marquis, adelantado of Florida, and captain-general; and to select at pleasure a territorial grant of seventy-five miles square.

All this was decided upon before there was knowledge of Coligny's having sent a colony to Florida. When this news was received, Menendez was hurriedly sent for, to devise plans for anticipating or ousting them. The first thought was

Change in plans

PEDRO MENENDEZ D' AVILES

immediate action by the navy of New Spain; but finally the original expedition was enlarged to twenty vessels, with correspondent increase of soldiers and colonists. The king contributed the flag-ship, *San Pelayo;* and at its prow Menendez sailed from Cadiz on June 29, 1565.

Scattered and delayed by tempests, only part of the fleet reached Porto Rico by the 9th of August. The Napoleonic Menendez would not wait for the rest, and hurried northward, reaching Cape Cañaveral on the 25th. Here he first learned that a colony had actually been planted further north. Continuing his voyages, he came three days later, on St. Augustine's Day, to a spacious harbor which he named from the saint; twenty miles further brought him to the mouth of the St. John's. There in the distance he sighted Jean Ribault's four ships, flying the flag of France.

Menendez sails to oust the French

Menendez called a council; his officers wished him to return to Santo Domingo and collect all his forces for the attack. The commander, a worthy mate of Cortes, was of different stuff, and determined on an immediate onset. It was near nightfall; shortly a violent storm came on. About ten at night, when the tempest abated, the Spaniard on the *Pelayo* ran between the two principal vessels of Ribault's fleet. Them he hailed, demanding to know who they were, whence they came, and what was their mission. Ribault replied that they were Frenchmen who had come to Florida under their king's command. In turn he demanded the same from them. The Spaniard answered, "I am

Ribault hailed by Menendez

Pedro Menendez. I come by command of the king of Spain to this coast and land, to burn and hang the French Lutherans found in it. In the morning I will board your ships to know whether you belong to that sect; because if you do, I cannot avoid executing on you the justice which his Majesty commands." Ribault responded, "This is not right: you may go without awaiting the morning."

Menendez's threat

At dawn there was a skirmish; Menendez was at first victorious, but fearing to be surrounded, drew off to St. Augustine to await reinforcements. On the 6th of September, cordially welcomed by the still unharmed Indians there, he made a landing. The cacique gave his house for a headquarters, and around it a stockade was begun. The cargoes were brought ashore; then Menendez made a formal debarkation, taking official possession amid a procession of priests chanting Te Deums, and receiving and administering the oaths of office.

St. Augustine founded

Such was the founding of St. Augustine, first of the permanent settlements effected by Europeans within the present limits of the United States. The event is dated from the 8th of September (old style), 1565; seventeen years before the founding of Santa Fé, forty-two before the permanent colonization of Virginia by the English. Almost three-quarters of a century had been consumed in the vague and vain endeavors of the Spanish discoverers and explorers and gold-hunters to establish themselves on the mainland of North America above the Tropic of Cancer.

Menendez's position was favorable for his intended operations against the French; but theirs was equally favorable for attacking him by sea. Their large vessels hovered around and threatened a descent on St. Augustine, before it was sufficiently strengthened to resist; but they feared to attack by land. Menendez worked diligently at the fortifications, and sent the *San Pelayo* to Santo Domingo, himself narrowly escaping capture. Two days afterward a terrific hurricane dashed the greater part of the French fleet to pieces along the coast. Ribault and many of his men managed to reach the shore through the surf; but they would be long in reaching Fort Caroline. Along the coast the inlets were almost impassable, and inland the woods were trackless.

Ribault's fleet wrecked

Menendez seized his opportunity with the genius of a great soldier. He called his officers, explained to them the situation, announced his purpose to march across country and attack the French fort, and would listen to no adverse counsels. He organized a force of five hundred men, carrying each in his knapsack a supply of biscuit and wine. He took the command in person, but treated himself as a common soldier, bearing his supplies and weapons. For guides he had two Indian chiefs, and a French renegade who knew the way to Fort Caroline. On the 16th of September the expedition departed from St. Augustine. Many were overcome by hardships, some returned to St. Augustine, a few were mutinous; but on the evening of the 19th, the remainder

Menendez's march on Fort Caroline

came unheralded to a hill within sight of the French settlement.

Menendez surprises Fort Caroline

The weather was stormy; the French slept in security. At daylight the next morning, through a sheet of rain the Spaniards rushed on the fort. A solitary sentinel was cut down, but raised an alarm; two others who ran out were slain. A general alarm was sounded, and a French soldier in the confusion opened the gate. Then the Spaniards rushed in, and the work of slaughter began. Others, coming up with the ladders, scaled the walls. So complete was the surprise that the garrison were unable to arm themselves. About fifty men, just awaked, clambered over the walls and fled half-naked into the woods. A few others took to the boats to reach the French vessels in the river. Laudonnière himself, with the younger Ribault and a few others, escaped and lay in the swamps all night, where the leader was rescued from drowning by a soldier. The two remaining French vessels were anchored at the mouth of the river; and when the wretched fugitives were on board, young Ribault sailed away with them for the home kingdom, to get away from the Spanish pursuers.

Massacre of the French

Within the fort there was a horrible butchery. One hundred and forty-two of the Frenchmen were slain without mercy, about fifty were kept as prisoners and later sent to San Domingo. The settlement as such was exterminated. Menendez considered the French not only pirates, but outlaws as being Protestants. The tradition was long

current that after hanging many of the captives, Menendez put up a board with black letters burned in, saying "I do this not as to Frenchmen, but to heretics." This is now discredited. It may also be said in extenuation that Menendez believed himself merely retaliating French atrocities: at Havana in 1555, for example, the French captain, Jacques de Sorie, put to death the Spanish and Portuguese who had surrendered on promise of mercy.

Legend of Menendez's savagery

Menendez lost not a single man in killed or wounded. He followed up the victory with the same energy. He seized three French vessels lying in the river; the fourth was scuttled by its crew. Two other ships meantime were lying at the mouth of the St. John's watching for the enemy to come by sea, while the enemy had extirpated the whole colony. Fort Caroline was at once converted into a Spanish stronghold, and a church was built. The name was changed to San Mateo (St. Matthew). Menendez left part of his command at the fort; with the rest he marched back to St. Augustine, whence he dispatched some boats with supplies to San Mateo; but this was soon afterwards almost destroyed by fire, with a large part of the spoils taken from the French. Menendez, with good policy, established friendly relations with the natives, because of their antipathy to the French.

San Mateo replaces Fort Caroline

Meanwhile, Ribault's shipwrecked force were ashore in two companies. One of one hundred and twenty-seven men was on Mantanzas Inlet,

unable to cross. Menendez, hearing of their whereabouts, proceeded thither, and from the opposite side demanded to know who they were. A French sailor swam across, giving the desired information. Menendez replied that Fort Caroline was now his, and that their countrymen were no more. If they did not surrender at once, he would cross over and slay them all. They sought to obtain honorable terms; but Menendez answered in ambiguities. He would treat them as God should give him counsel. Finally they were obliged to surrender at discretion. Crossing over the inlet, they were at once seized and bound. Sixteen of the Bretons, who were Catholics, were separated from the rest and saved. All the remainder were slain in cold blood.

Menendez butchers Ribault's first company

Shortly afterward Ribault himself with the remainder of his forces, three hundred and fifty in all, came to Mantanzas Inlet. Of them, Menendez in like manner demanded a surrender. Ribault drew up his men for fight; but the Spaniards began to breakfast. Ribault, reflecting on his helpless situation, raised a white flag. He sought for fair terms; but Menendez again answered that he would do according to his own will and the will of God. The French hesitated. Some thought best to accept the terms; but the greater number sensibly deemed it better to trust the more merciful wilderness, and scattered in different directions. Ribault with seventy officers and men chose to surrender. On the following morning they crossed the inlet and gave up their arms and colors. But

And second company

they too were seized and bound, and were mercilessly slain. A very few, including two young nobles, were spared by Menendez to retain their services.

The principal company of the remaining fugitives, one hundred and fifty in all, retreated to a place called Cañaveral, where they constructed a fortification and began to build a ship to make their way back to France. The relentless Menendez, however, was on the track. At St. Augustine he organized a force for pursuit by both land and water. On the 8th of November they reached the French fortifications; but the discouraged garrison had lost all heart. Once more Menendez demanded a surrender, but in this instance he promised that the lives of the French should be spared. This pledge he kept, and the garrison were made prisoners. The fort was destroyed, and on its site the Spanish fort of Santa Lucia de Cañaveral was built. The captives were taken to Havana.

Last French company captured

Thus ended the First Intercolonial War in North America. French settlement on the Southern Atlantic was extinguished for more than a century. But the Spaniards still had formidable enemies. Winter frosts even there, and unappetizing food, made disease run riot. At St. Augustine and St. Matthew as many as one hundred died during the winter. There was disaffection also. Menendez was off cruising. The insurgents, under a certain Captain Vicente, grew strong enough to seize some of the vessels and

Spanish troubles

desert. The garrison of St. Matthew was reduced to twenty-one men. Moreover, not all the French had been slain or driven out. The settlements were indeed extinct, but bands of stragglers found refuge among the friendly Indians, whom they began to incite against the common enemy, thinned by disease and desertion.

Indians harry the Spaniards

The red men shrewdly sided with the weaker party. The French were no longer a danger; and St. Matthew and St. Augustine began to feel the pressure of Indian hostilities. The warriors lay in ambush and cut off every straying Spaniard. Two of the best Spanish captains were waylaid and slain. At St. Augustine the Indians shot burning arrows into the enclosure, and the storehouses of the colony were totally consumed. Then the Indians invested the place more closely, and by the latter part of March the colony was crowded to the edge of the precipice. On the 20th Menendez arrived; but even his abilities could not stay the mutiny, which now included the great majority of the colonists. He had to let the malcontents sail away with San Vicente. Fully five hundred followed him, and St. Augustine was greatly weakened. But order was soon restored among the rest by Menendez, and St. Matthew also was relieved from its siege by the Indians.

Mutineers overbear Menendez

Security thus attained for his two principal stations, Menendez gained permission from the chief of the tribe around Port Royal to build a stockade, which he named St. Philip. The following year the Cherokee silver region was explored.

There were now three Spanish settlements in Florida,—St. Augustine, St. Matthew, and St. Helena on the Gulf,—besides St. Philip on Port Royal Sound. Menendez attempted to add a colony on Chesapeake Bay, but the expedition deserted and returned to Spain.

North American mainland settlements

Menendez consistently sought to secure the confidence of the native tribes. Now the Jesuit fathers appeared on the scene again, seeking to convert the red men to the holy faith and cause. They were the first to study systematically and peaceably the languages and institutions of the natives. Some of them lost their lives in the benevolent work. Some failed through their own weakness, and a few succeeded in establishing missions. But probably other Spaniards were less benevolent: repeated Indian battles were fought, and the mass of the natives remained in a state of sullen hostility.

Jesuits in Florida

In 1567 Menendez revisited Spain, and was cordially received by the king, but was not able to secure such energetic co-operation as he desired for the Florida plantations. In the interval, a hostile expedition went out from a rival kingdom.

De Gourgues' expedition

In August of 1567, Dominique De Gourgues, of Landes in France, was commissioned at Bordeaux to engage in the African slave-trade. From Africa he sailed with his human freight to the West Indies and Santo Domingo. Though France and Spain were not nominally at war, each sought on every occasion to circumvent the enterprises of the other. De Gourgues at Santo Domingo made

a league with the chieftain Zaballos for a descent on the Spanish settlement in Florida. On his arrival at the mouth of the St. John's, the landsmen thought the fleet to be Spanish, and thus it passed the shore batteries and reached the mouth of the St. Mary's in safety. There a French refugee informed his countrymen of the rancor of the natives, and communications were soon opened by De Gourgues with the chieftain Saturiba. The latter readily joined the French with his tribesmen, and the united force proceeded against St. Matthew.

De Gourgues surprises Spanish settlement

It was now the turn of the Spaniards to be taken unawares. The French ships came close to the fortifications; a landing was effected, and with the aid of the Indians the two redoubts were quickly carried. Then the St. Matthew fort itself was overcome, and the garrison was slain or captured to a man. The French secured the Spanish artillery, and were about to remove all of the supplies when the magazine was accidentally exploded by an Indian. The place blew up, many lives were lost, and nearly all the booty was destroyed. De Gourgues then hanged his prisoners out of hand. He next descended the river to the mouth, where he captured the unwary Spanish batterymen, and them he also hanged.

Retaliates on Spaniards

The legendary story of Menendez's atrocities at Fort Caroline has been related. The tradition runs that De Gourgues now retaliated by setting up an inscription over the hanged bodies of his "traitors, robbers, and murderers." These grisly

traditions may not be—probably are not—true; but they illustrate the spirit of the age.

Menendez had at least occupied and held what he had conquered, while De Gourgues made a waste and left it. But Menendez was not long delayed in its reoccupancy. In 1568 he re-established himself at St. Matthew. The fort, however, was not for the present rebuilt; only a fortification called San Pedro was established on the St. John's. Menendez still sought to effect the conversion of the Indians, and to bind them to Spain. To this end he sent out a number of the Jesuit fathers, who penetrated the country and settled among the natives, planted missions and gathered the youth into schools.

Menendez reoccupies Florida

Menendez did not abandon the idea of entering the Chesapeake. Thither, in the year 1570, he despatched Father Segura with a company of brothers to plant a mission at Axacan, within the present territory of Maryland. The Spanish vessel entered the bay and probably ascended the Potomac, debarked and crossed to the Rappahannock. There a station was established, but it was a short-lived success. A few of the natives gathered around the fathers; but the greater number were hostiles, who presently attacked and destroyed the settlement. In 1572 Menendez invaded the country and hanged eight of the Indians in retaliation.

And aims at Virginia

This was the last work of Menendez on the American continent. He returned to Spain in 1573, and died on the 17th of September of the

following year. Philip II. had designed him to head an Armada against England; but it was fourteen years before it materialized.

Spanish colonies languish

On the Florida side the prospects of the Spanish settlements faded from this date. St. Philip was later abandoned and burned by its own garrison. St. Augustine was assailed and destroyed by Drake. Only the restoration of conquests, which was the usual rule at the conclusion of wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, prevented the total extinction of the Spanish colonies long before the English succeeded in establishing themselves on the James, or Champlain was able to build his fort on the St. Lawrence.

De Gourgues' last days

It is still a moot point whether De Gourgues contemplated the office of avenger on leaving France. What is certain is that he was in very ill savor at his own court, where the Catholic party considered the orthodox Menendez much more their countryman than the heretic De Gourgues. Much less was he in favor abroad. Philip put a price on his head, and De Gourgues reckoned it prudent to stand out of the wind for several years. Later in life he accepted the command of a Portuguese fleet; for Portugal was then at war with Spain, and he could serve freely in such a cause. He died at Tours, in his native country, in the year 1593. Menendez had long since passed away, and the Spanish Armada had been beaten to pieces by the guns of England and the co-operating artillery of the skies.